DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 152 907 UD 018 093

AUTHOR	Bartels, Lois I.
TITLE	Supports and Constraints to Home-School-Community Relations in an Urban, Inner-City IGE School. Technical Report No.448, Part 1 and Part 2.
INSTITUTION	Wisconsin Univ., Madison. Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Feb 78
CONTRACT	NIE-G-78-0117
NOTE	483p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$1.00 HC-$26.11 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Case Studies (Education); Community Characteristics; Community Involvement; Data Analysis; Data Collection; Elementary Education; Failure Factors; *Family School Relationship; Field Studies; *Inner City; Instructional Programs; Organizational Climate; *School Community Relationship; *Success Factors; *Urban Education
IDENTIFIERS	*Individually Guided Education; *Metropolitanism

ABSTRACT

Individually Guided Education (IGE) is an alternative form of schooling used in a large number of elementary schools. This study of home-school- community relations in an urban, inner city IGE school starts with a summary of the literature on home-school-community relations and an overview of readings related to urban education. In addition, a conceptual framework for describing and interpreting data to meet the objectives of this study is provided. The field methodology utilized in this case study, including research objectives and data collection procedures, is described in detail. The community and organizational environments of the selected urban, inner city IGE school are examined. The instructional and home-school-community relations programs at the school are discussed. Activities and practices related to the home-school-community relations processes of communication, involvement, participation, analysis and resolution are then described. At each of these three stages, relevant descriptive data and findings related to the home-school-community relations objectives of the study are given. A summary of identified supports and constraints to home-school-community relations in an urban, inner city IGE school is provided, together with implications for practitioners and suggestions for future research. (Author/MC)

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Technical Report No. 448
Part 1 of 2 Parts

SUPPORTS AND CONSTRAINTS TO HOME-SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN AN URBAN, INNER-CITY IGE SCHOOL

by Lois I. Bartels

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February 1978

WISCONSIN RESEARCH
AND DEVELOPMENT
CENTER FOR
COGNITIVE LEARNING

Technical Report No. 448

Part 1 of 2 Parts

SUPPORTS AND CONSTRAINTS TO HOME-SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN AN URBAN, INNER-CITY IGE SCHOOL

by

Lois I. Bartels

Report from the Project on
Studies of Administration and Organization for Instruction

B. Dean Bowles
Faculty Associate

Wisconsin Research and Development
Center for Cognitive Learning
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

February 1978

UD018093

This Technical Report is a doctoral dissertation reporting research supported by the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning. Since it has been approved by a University Examining Committee, it has not been reviewed by the Center. It is published by the Center as a record of some of the Center's activities and as a service to the student. The bound original is in the University of Wisconsin Memorial Library.

Published by the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, supported in part as a research and development center by funds from the National Institute of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the National Institute of Education and no official endorsement by that agency should be inferred.

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- providing assistance to educators which helps transfer the outcomes of research and development to improved practice in local schools and teacher education institutions

The Wisconsin Research and Development Center is supported with funds from the National Institute of Education and the University of Wisconsin.

WISCONSIN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
CENTER FOR COGNITIVE LEARNING

FOREWORD

This report represents the final analysis of data obtained in an in-depth case study of one urban, inner-city IGE school. The use of field methodology at one research site has raised a number of ethical questions in relationship to preserving the anonymity of respondents and interpreting their behaviors, attitudes, and comments without distorting intended meanings. While it is likely those who participated in the study will not remain unknown to each other, the following efforts have been made to produce a manuscript which represents competent reporting of research and still honors the trust placed in the researcher by those who cooperated in the study.

The names of all persons and places have been changed to protect the identity of the school district, the school and individuals who participated in the study. Furthermore, when direct quotations are preceded by a pronoun district resource people and administrators are referred to as "he" and teachers as "she". In retrospect, this attempt to guarantee anonymity may be viewed as sexual stereotyping; however, it also reflects an effort to protect the identity of respondents who represented sexual minorities in the real situation. Finally, official documents containing the name of the school, the district, the city or the state have not been cited as references in this report. This is particularly significant in Chapter III where much of the information concerning the history of the community was obtained from works of other researchers. In an effort to resolve such ethical considerations, questions about bibliographic references may be referred to the researcher at the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, 1025 West Johnson Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53706.

Lois I. Bartels

November 4, 1977

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have shared of their time and talents to realize the completion of this work. The unique gift of each individual will long be remembered and cherished by the researcher. However, this special note of thanks is offered to the following individuals and groups:

To the principal, staff, parents, and students at the real Cassody School for their warm hospitality and active cooperation throughout this study;

To Professor B. Dean Bowles for his very special contributions as patient mentor, Aries friend, and creator of the Mortar Base-Plate Model;

To Professors Marvin J. Fruth, Donald J. McCarty, Robert P. Moser, and B. Robert Tabachnick for listening, reading, and sharing the pains and pleasures of a neophyte researcher;

To Dr. Carol J. Genrich and Dr. Linda L. Calvin for unwavering support, endless patience, and intuitively knowing when to listen, when to act, and when to let an Aries Be;

To Eileen L. Niedermeier for being Eileen;

To Dr. Colin R. Moyle, Glenn A. Neiner, Noel A. Watkins, and Hillel I. Raskas for "mateship" which made even the impossible seem possible;

To all who contributed literary and technical skills to produce a completed manuscript;

To the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for financial assistance;

And above all, to Dorothy and Joe Bartels for encouragement, love, and understanding which can come only from parents who are also friends.

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Abstract

SUPPORTS AND CONSTRAINTS TO HOME-SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN AN URBAN, INNER-CITY IGE SCHOOL

By

Lois I. Bartels

Under the supervision of Professor B. Dean Bowles

Individually Guided Education (IGE) is an alternative form of schooling used in a large number of elementary schools. The research reported in this study represents an in-depth case study of home-school-community relations at an IGE school located in an inner-city neighborhood of one of the twenty largest cities in the United States. The school served a population of 718 black students, the majority of whom lived in a near-by low income housing project. Both the instructional and home-school-community relations programs were highly influenced by guidelines for federal (Title I) and state programs implemented at the school.

Data for the study were collected during a three month period of time through the use of field study methods including both formal and informal interviews and observations, and collection of relevant documents. Specific purposes of the study are:

1. To describe the organizational and community environments of an urban, inner-city IGE school
2. To describe the home-school-community relations program/activities of an urban, inner-city IGE school

3. To identify the supports for and constraints against a home-school-community relations program in an urban, inner-city IGE school

4. To refine the home-school-community relations model developed at the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning

This study was part of a larger research effort by the Home-School-Community Relations Project at the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning. Using a conceptual framework developed at the R & D Center, this study describes programmatic and goal elements of activities at the selected school in terms of the processes of communication, involvement, participation, analysis, and resolution of potential or actual conflict. Relevant findings growing out of the descriptive data resulted in concluding statements regarding conditions and related factors identified as supports and constraints to home-school-community relations.

Conditions providing organizational supports and/or constraints to home-school-community relations include: 1) size of the district, 2) locus of district decision making, 3) attitudes and behaviors of district administrators, 4) attitudes and behaviors of the local school principal, 5) attitudes and behaviors of teachers, 6) teacher transiency, 7) the instructional program, 8) influence of state and federal programs, and 9) allocation of resources.

Community constraints were largely related to a current condition of non-activism in the school neighborhood. Specific conditions providing supports and/or constraints include: 1) attitudes of involved parents, 2) poverty and related conditions, 3) limited formal schooling of

parents, 4) working parents, 5) crime and vandalism, and 6) socioeconomic and cultural values in the community.

An unanticipated variable was introduced into the study as a result of a districtwide desegregation plan which resulted in the assignment of a number of white teachers to the predominantly black staff of the selected school. The effects of this condition on the instructional program are described as part of the organizational environment of the school. However, the issue of racial differences between white teachers and black children and parents did not emerge as a primary support or constraint to the home-school-community relations program.

The role of the principal as a political actor in the school and community is described throughout the study. It is concluded that one of the principal's major functions was to stimulate a programmatic approach to home-school-school-community relations. It is further concluded that her political leadership style in the predominantly inert school community was a major factor in the effectiveness or non-effectiveness of various aspects of the program.

The descriptive nature of this study provides a useful overview for schools in similar neighborhoods wishing to implement a home-school-community relations program. In addition, findings of the study suggest general implications for schools of education and for federal, state, and district education agencies interested in promoting positive home-school-community relations at the local school level.

Approved by: B. Dean Bowles

Date: 12/6/77

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND RELATED LITERATURE

School-community relations[1] in the inner-cities[2] of the nation's urban school districts reached a low point during the 1960's. Vocal critics[3] attacked big city schools for their inhumaneness, irrelevance, and inability to educate the children of poor and racial minority families. Numerous compensatory programs were developed during the latter half of the 1960's. Yet, in 1970, Illich[4] was still suggesting the only hope for society was to eliminate the schools and Levy stated, "Only major institutional changes in American society that allow for more equitable treatment of its lower classes can measurably affect the brutal reality of ghetto education."[5]

---

[1] The terms school-community relations and home-school community relations are used interchangeably throughout this paper.

[2] In a 1965 study of forty Chicago elementary schools, Havighurst identified four types of schools according to their social class status: high-status, conventional, common-man, and inner-city. The latter group was defined as those schools which were generally found in slum areas. They were characterized as serving areas with low incomes, high rates of transiency, and high rates of delinquency. Race was not a factor. For a detailed description of the study, see Robert J. Havighurst, The Public Schools of Chicago (Chicago: The Board of Education of the City of Chicago, 1965), pp. 143-171.

Throughout this dissertation, "inner-city" will refer to that part of the city which fits the description above. This term should not be confused with "central city" as it is used by the U. S. Bureau of Census. "Central city" refers to a city or twin cities which meet specific population criteria and form the nucleous of an urban area.

[3] See James Herndon, The Way It Sposed to Be (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968). Herbert Kohl, 36 Children (New York: New American Library, 1967). Johnathon Kozol, Death at an Early Age (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967). Nat Hentoff, Our Children Are Dying (New York: Viking Press, 1966).

[4] Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society (New York: Harper & Row, 1971).

Frustrated parents and students in the inner-cities mounted protests of their own. In 1968, the parents of children in the Ocean-Hill Brownsville section of New York confronted the teachers' union in a classic struggle of community versus professionals for control of the schools.[6] In other parts of the country parents demanded increased participation through advisory councils and other sanctioned mechanisms.[7] Children used more subtle protest devices such as truancy, vandalism, and dropping out of school.[8] The Kerner Report summarizes the prevailing mood of the community with this statement:

> This failure [to provide the educational experience which could help overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation] is one of the persistent sources of

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[5] Gerald Levy, Ghetto School (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1970), p. 178.

[6] Rhody A. McCoy, "The Formation of a Community-Controlled School District," in Community Control of Schools, ed. Henry M. Levin (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1970), pp. 169-190.

[7] Gerald Faris, "School Community Advisory Councils: Los Angeles' Road Toward Citizen Involvement," in Schools Where Parents Make a Difference, ed. Don Davies(Boston: Institute for Responsive Education, 1976), pp. 69-76.

[8] Stanley Charnofsky, Educating the Powerless (Belmont, Ca.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1971), p. 167.

> grievance and resentment within the Negro community. The hostility of Negro parents and students toward the school system is generating increased conflict and causing disruption within many city school districts.[9]

Today urban education, particularly in inner-cities, is still in trouble. Not only are children failing to learn basic intellectual skills,[10] but thirty-five years of migration within the country has produced increased racial segregation and overwhelming problems for school districts in large cities.[11] Added to the questions of school governance and allocation of shrinking financial resources, district administrators are faced with convincing many local school principals and staffs there is a need for involving parents and other community members in the business of the school.[12] Thus, the development of positive school-community relations is a growing concern at all levels of the educational enterprise.

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[9] National Advisory Commision on Civil Disorders, Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1968), p. 425.

[10] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 205.

[11] Irving Anker, "Educational Redlining." Paper presented at the Council of the Great City Schools, Spring 1976 Convention, Washington, D. C., 20 May 1976.

[12] Nolan Estes, "Current Issues in Urban Education." Seminar presented at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, 30 March 1977.

Home-school-community relations is one component of an alternative form of schooling for individualizing instruction which already exists and continues to be introduced into growing numbers of urban school districts. Known as Individually Guided Education (IGE),[13] this system has grown out of research by the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning (R & D Center) at Madison. Since 1973, the Home-School-Community Relations Project at the R & D Center has been conducting research related to the status of relationships between IGE schools and their various subpublics. This study is part of that larger research effort and is aimed at discovering the variables which act as supports for and constraints against effective home-school-community relations in an urban, inner-city IGE school. The specific purposes of the study are:

1. To describe the organizational and community environments of an urban, inner-city IGE school
2. To describe the home-school-community relations program/activities of an urban, inner-city IGE school
3. To identify the supports for and the constraints against a home-school-community relations program in an urban, inner-city IGE school
4. To refine the R & D Center model for home-school-community relations

The following sections are designed to summarize the background literature on home-school-community relations and to provide a conceptual framework for interpretation of the data in later chapters.

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[13] A list of other components of the IGE system, and related terms and acronyms which are used in this chapter are included in Appendix A.

Home-School-Community Relations Literature

Reviews of the home-school-community relations literature have recently been reported in three R & D Center publications. In The State of the Art, Kim, Fruth, and Bowles[14] reviewed and classified over 300 pieces of school-community relations literature published through 1975. They developed a classification scheme, suggested by the literature, through which home-school-community relations is viewed as an administrative process, as public participation, and as a political process. In 1976, Krupa[15] examined the literature related to the functional aspects of home-school-community relations which he identified as (1) school public relations and home-school communication, and (2) citizen involvement. More recently, Karges[16] expanded these categories of literature to include school-community relations as (1) communications and public relations, (2) citizen involvement, (3) participation, and (4) the political approach. Using the latter framework, the following summary of the school-community relations literature is based on the extensive reviews cited above.[17]

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[14] Jin Eun Kim, Marvin J. Fruth, and B. Dean Bowles, Home-School-Community Relations: The State of the Art. Theoretical Report No. 61 (Madison, Wis.: Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, 1976).

[15] Walter E. Krupa, "An Analysis of Home-School-Community Relations Activities in IGE Schools" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1976), pp. 8-21.

[16] Marjorie Lynn Karges, "The Implementation, Evaluation, and Refinement of the Home-School-Community Relations Interaction Model" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1977), pp. 1-55.

The focus of the literature describing home-school-community relations as communication and public relations is on the administrative function of generating community support for existing or innovative programs and practices. This approach stresses the need to interpret school programs to the community through effective written and oral communications. The approach also emphasizes ways to improve various written communications such as general bulletins, school newsletters, and notes to parents. Procedures for face-to-face contacts through home visits, report card conferences, and school visits by parents comprise a large part of the literature.

The citizen involvement approach to home-school-community relations acknowledges the importance of effective communications and positive public relations but these activities are not viewed as being completely adequate for building effective school-community relationships. This approach suggests citizens be involved in the activities of the school for purposes of understanding the school and its programs, promoting community support of the school and providing individual help for students. Included in the involvement approach are suggestions for utilizing the resources of parents and other citizens as volunteers who function as teacher aides, library helpers, or individual student tutors. The need to include citizens as resource people in their areas of expertise is also stressed. Numerous projects, especially in compensatory education programs, outline procedures for involvement activities. Research on the effects of involvement activities as a means of influencing parental attitudes and affecting student achievement appears to be contradictory.

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[17] Since this study is a part of an on-going research effort by the Home-School-Community Relations Project, it has been deemed unnecessary for this researcher to do an additional review of the general school-community relations literature.

When home-school-community relations is approached from a participatory viewpoint opportunities are made available for citizens to participate in decision making about school operations and school policies. On one end of the participation continuum the literature suggests that citizens be included on advisory committees which have no role in governance, but which provide mechanisms for keeping school administrators informed of community needs and feelings. It is felt that this level of participation will not only provide a two-way flow of communication, but will also increase the credibility of educators. At the other end of the continuum participation is advocated because it is a democratic right which entitles citizens to be included in actual decision making about budget, curriculum, and the hiring of personnel. Participation at this level is usually perceived as community control of the schools and is based on some of the same philosophical principles as the political approach to school-community relations.

School-community relations as a political process is defined as "the interaction between the school and the political system in which it functions."[18] This approach is operationalized when an attempt is made to establish a relationship between the subpublics in a community and the issues which emerge as a result of individual and group concerns. Literature on the political approach to school-community relations is primarily related to the analysis of community power structures and the role of pressure groups in formulating district-wide policies. Little or no effort has been made to apply a political model to communication relations at the local school level.

Conceptual Framework

Utilizing the related literature, Bowles and Fruth[19] identified several underlying principles of effective school-community relations, operationalized them within a political context, and developed a model of home-school-community relations based on primary interaction patterns between the IGE school and its community subpublics. Based on this early work and on continuing research by project staff members, a Programmatic Model for Home-School-Community Relations was recently developed. It is from this model and its conceptual framework that the research reported in this dissertation has emerged.

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[18] Kim, Fruth, and Bowles, p. 8.

[19] B. Dean Bowles and Marvin J. Fruth, "Improving Home-School-Community Relations," in The Principal and Individually Guided Education, ed. James M. Lipham and Marvin J. Fruth (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1976), pp. 164-199.

Underlying Principles of Effective Home-School-Community Relations

Bowles and Fruth[20] suggest effective communication is an integral part of good school-community relations. However, they suggest that communication between the school and its subpublics should not be limited to use of the media, nor should it be a one-way flow from the school to the community. It is necessary to first analyze the issues in the community and then identify the individuals and groups who are concerned with each of the issues. This requires that "community" be redefined to include subpublics both within and outside of the school. The in-school community includes teachers, clerical staff, aides, other employees, and volunteers, all of whom play a part in educating the outside community to the attitudes and goals of the IGE school. In addition, attention must be given to the subpublic which is the focal point of all school activity, the students. The role of children in the school-community relations program cannot be ignored. Moving outside of the school, parents, retired citizens, business persons, and other community subpublics need to be included in communication, involvement, and participation activities. The school must utilize the time and talents of all available resources to improve the instructional program and to educate the staff about the neighborhood community.

After the initial steps have been taken, communication should include efforts to promote understanding of the issues and encourage participation of community subpublics in decision making related to their concerns. Activities to promote effective two-way communication may include home visits, volunteer programs, and advisory committees.

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[20] Bowles and Fruth, pp. 164-168.

Finally, Bowles and Fruth caution educators about the use of "crisis management" as the sole approach to school-community relations. Activities initiated only in response to critical events such as the passing of school bond issues or disagreements on reporting procedures are likely to be less effective than "active and preventative" programs. They state that an effective program of home-school-community relations "is an ongoing, interactive, and meaningful relationship between the home, school, and community."[21]

The Political Context of Home-School-Community Relations

Bowles and Fruth state:

> The political objective of any effective home-school-community relations program is the resolution of both manifest and latent conflict among the various subpublics which may be associated with policy decisions or administrative practices which determine (1) the use of available, scarce resources; (2) the value choices to be made regarding the educational program; and (3) the locus of power in the educational enterprise.[22]

They point out that many of the concepts and practices of Individually Guided Education, such as the allocation of resources for staffing, the meaning of shared decision making, and the values which are inherent in individualized instruction, are political in nature. It is further suggested that an effective program of home-school-community relations is determined by the nature of the community in which people live, the kinds of schools provided and the kind of educational program which is carried on by the school. Such a program utilizes concepts both educationally and politically sound. Thus, activities of a good home-school-community relations program should be aimed at meeting the dual objectives of (1) resolving conflict, and (2) allocating resources, choosing values, and distributing power.

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[21] Ibid., p. 168.

[22] Ibid.

Three research studies related to the political approach to school-community relations have been conducted by R & D Center staff members. Klenke analyzed the interrelationships between the characteristics of the multiunit school and the Instructional Programming Model (IPM) by identifying and describing each in terms of the allocation of (1) scarce economic resources, (2) educational values, and (3) power. He concluded:

> 1. the successful implementation and operationalization of the characteristics of the multiunit school and the Instructional Programming Model are related to the degree to which they can be translated into visible and tangible benefits which are easily interpreted by the various subpublics, and
>
> 2. actual or potential conflict is more likely to be related to values associated with the multiunit school and the Instructional Programming Model than to the allocation of power and resources.[23]

Miles utilized the McCarty-Ramsey model of four types of community power structures to describe the implementation of IGE and school-community relations in four schools. He concluded with eleven recommendations to practitioners:

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[23] William H. Klenke, "An Exploratory Case Study of the Multiunit School and the Instructional Programming Model: Power, Resources, Values" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1975), p. 202.

1. Administrators should gain skills in community analysis
2. Educators should probe for problems in the school community environment
3. Analysis should be made of problems and needs connected with the implementation of an innovation
4. Key influentials should be identified and involved
5. Students should be involved and knowledgeable about changes in the educational program of the school
6. Educators should involve parents in school activities
7. Educators should use two-way communication to transmit information and involve others
8. Educators should focus school-community relations programs and activities on the students
9. Educators should "aim for programmatic smoothness"
10. Educators should conduct a parental survey during implementation of an innovation
11. Educators should be aware of possibilities for fractionalism in their community[24]

On a broader policy making level, Liechty used a political participation framework to examine the ways in which citizens in a portion of a rural county school district were involved in educational participation. He defined educational participation as:

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[24] William R. Miles, "Home-School-Community Relations as a Political Process: Four Exploratory Case Studies of the Implementation of Individually Guided Education (IGE) and Home-School-Community Relations" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1975), pp. 285-289 as cited in Karges, p. 51.

> that activity engaged in by citizens which may influence the selection of educational leaders and the decisions they make, the level and quality of educational services in the community, and the characteristics of communication between home, school, and community.[25]

As a part of his study, Liechty identified four modes of participation: parochial, cooperative, electoral, and dynamic. Participants were identified and described as activists, parents, citizens, voters, and inactives. Finally, the rate of participation for each group was computed in relationships to the modes of participation. Liechty found the individuals in the identified groups participated in educational activities on a selective basis. He suggested future research to determine the causes and the effects of selective participation on educational policy formation.

A Model of Primary Interaction Patterns and Processes

Early efforts aimed at the development of a model for home-school-community relations hypothesized the organizational arrangements of an IGE school would automatically lead to a pattern of interactions between the school and the community which was different from that of the traditional school. It was assumed the primary interactions would occur between the child and the teacher, the home and the unit leader or staff, and the neighborhood community and the principal and/or the Instructional Improvement Committee (IIC). While it was anticipated there would be frequent interactions across the primary patterns, this primary interaction concept was combined with the concept of interaction processes to develop a preliminary model of home-school-community relations (see Figure 1). Inherent in the model were two assumptions:

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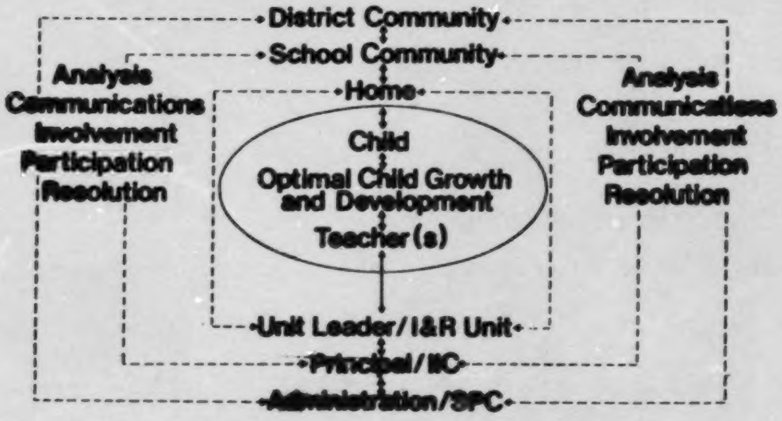
[25] Thornton Liechty, "Patterns of Citizen Participation in Education" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1977), pp. 43.

1. Roles defined by the multiunit structure of an IGE school would affect the definition of roles and responsibilities for school-community relations and
2. The interaction processes of analysis, communication, involvement, participation, and resolution would be integrated into activities that grew out of the interaction patterns.

FIGURE 1[26]

Home-School-Community Relations:
Primary Interaction Patterns


District Community
School Community
Home
Child
Optimal Child Growth and Development
Teacher(s)
Unit Leader/I&R Unit
Principal/IIC
Administration/SPC
Analysis
Communications
Involvement
Participation
Resolution
Analysis
Communications
Involvement
Participation
Resolution

---

[26] Bowles and Fruth, p. 170 (Revised).

Two research studies were conducted by Home-School-Community Relations Project staff members which examined school-community relations activities in light of these constructs. Krupa conducted a survey to obtain the perceptions of staff members of 26 IGE schools regarding home-school-community relations activities. He sought to determine:

1. Roles and responsibilities related to the activities
2. The objectives of the activities in terms of the interaction processes
3. The intended interactions between the school and the community, and
4. The staffs' perceptions of the importance and effectiveness of the activities

The results of Krupa's study showed there was lack of agreement by the respondents concerning roles and responsibilities for the activities. He noted communication and involvement were the primary objectives of home-school-community relations activities and there was little recognition of the need for community analysis, participation in decision making, or resolution of conflict. Krupa found the primary interactions occurred between the home and the school. Staff perceptions of the importance and effectiveness of the activities were highly correlated. Krupa concluded the majority of the schools in the study "conduct a series of loosely organized activities in home-school-community relations" and "a great need exists in schools to conceptualize home-school-community relations as a program."[27]

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[27] Krupa, pp. 124, 125.

Lake[28] conducted an in-depth analysis of a home-school-community relations program in one school. His study was designed to identify the programmatic and nonprogrammatic home-school-community relations activities and to examine the existing relationships between the operating functions, the control functions, and the primary interaction patterns. In addition, he examined the importance and effectiveness of the activities.

Lake's study yielded twelve major conclusions. Among these he found emphasis was placed on communication and participation activities; primary interaction took place between the school and the child, and between the school and the home; roles and responsibilities for the activities were not specified; the activities intended for interaction between the school and the home were seen as being the most effective; and agreement existed concerning the importance of activities within the home-school-community relations program.

Based on these conclusions and on his other major findings, Lake indicated the school being studied conducted a number of home-school-community relations activities but he found little evidence of a comprehensive home-school-community relations program. He recommended further research, development, and dissemination of information and materials to assist IGE schools in the development of such a program.

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[28] Roy, V. Lake, "An Analysis of a Home-School-Community Relations Program in an IGE School" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1976), pp. 207-217.

A Programmatic Model for Home-School-Community Relations

The Programmatic Model for Home-School-Community Relations (see Figure 2) grew out of earlier research and is designed to meet the needs of local IGE schools in planning home-school-community relations programs. The model suggests a home-school-community relations program is a planned set of activities with specified objectives, roles and responsibilities, and evaluative mechanisms all of which have been derived from a systematic needs assessment. Within each of the programmatic elements, opportunities are provided for utilizing the processes of analysis, communication, involvement, participation, and resolution of conflict. The anticipated goals of such a program are access, legitimacy, support, achievement, and child growth and development.

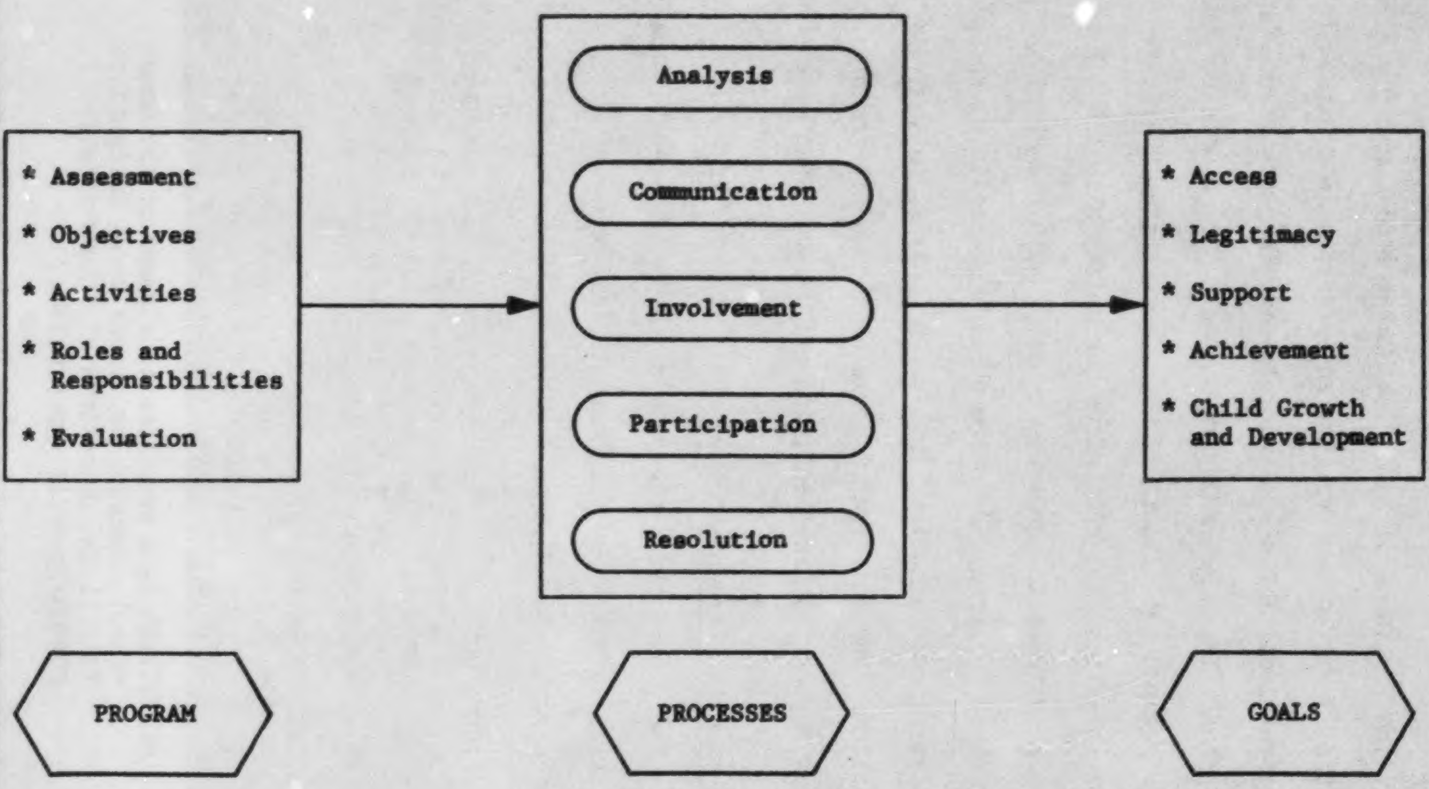
Programmatic Elements

The programmatic elements of the model are assessment, objectives, activities, roles and responsibilities, and evaluation. These elements are operationally defined for this study as follows:

> ASSESSMENT, also referred to as needs assessment, is a programmatic element of the home-school-community relations model through which the current status of the program, processes, and goals are identified.
>
> OBJECTIVES is a programmatic element of the home-school-community relations model which specify the desired outcomes of a program in relationship to processes, subpublics, and goals.
>
> ACTIVITIES is a programmatic element of the home-school-community relations model designed to fulfill the objectives of a home-school-community relations program.

FIGURE 2

A PROGRAMMATIC MODEL FOR HOME-SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS


* Assessment
* Objectives
* Activities
* Roles and Responsibilities
* Evaluation
Analysis
Communication
Involvement
Participation
Resolution
* Access
* Legitimacy
* Support
* Achievement
* Child Growth and Development
PROGRAM
PROCESSES
GOALS

Developed by B. Dean Bowles, Marvin J. Fruth, Lois I. Bartels, M. Lynn Karges, and Hillel I. Raskas. Home-School-Community Relations Project, Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, Madison, Wisconsin, 1976.

ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES is a programmatic element of the home-school-community relations model which assigns tasks and functions for home-school-community relations activities.

EVALUATION is a programmatic element of the home-school-community relations model designed to determine whether the processes, objectives, and goals established for the program are achieved.

The program elements of the model are designed to provide a framework for planning, implementation, and change in the relationships between the home, the school, and the community.

Interaction Processes

The interaction processes of the model are analysis, communication, involvement, participation, and resolution. Each of these processes is defined as follows:

ANALYSIS is a process of the home-school-community relations model by which issues and subpublics are identified and related.

COMMUNICATION is a process of the home-school-community relations model which utilizes all forms of interaction among various subpublics and between the school and the subpublics.

INVOLVEMENT is a process of the home-school-community relations model through which various subpublics contribute resources of time, energy, and expertise to a school.

PARTICIPATION is a process of the home-school-community relations model which provides access to the decision and policy making processes of a school.

RESOLUTION is a process of the home-school-community relations model which is designed to solve problems and to reduce actual or potential conflict.

The interaction processes are the means through which the programmatic elements of the model may be designed to meet the goals and objectives of the home-school-community relations program.

Goals

The goals of a home-school-community relations program are access, legitimacy, support, achievement, and child growth and development. Each of these goals is defined as follows:

> ACCESS is a goal of the home-school-community relations model which provides for optimal interaction among various community subpublics and the school as an institution.
>
> LEGITIMACY is a goal of the home-school-community relations model which assures the acceptance, the trust, and the efficacy of the school as an institution by its various subpublics.
>
> SUPPORT is a goal of the home-school-community relations model which provides for the economic and political resources by various subpublics in the school community sufficient to achieve the primary mission of the school as an institution.
>
> ACHIEVEMENT is a goal of the home-school-community relations model which provides for optimal student performance in cognitive learning and the basic skills.
>
> CHILD GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT is a goal of the home-school-community relations model which provides for optimal physical, social, and emotional maturity of pupils.

The goals of the model are the desired outcomes of a home-school-community relations program in which the program elements are defined and interaction processes are utilized.

Karges[29] recently completed a research project in which she implemented a school-community relations program based on the Programmatic Model for Home-School-Community Relations. Her initial procedure involved an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of school-community relations at the selected elementary school site. Based on needs expressed by citizens and the school staff, she worked with the staff to develop a program which utilized the interaction processes of analysis, communication, involvement, participation, and resolution. Her experiences suggested that the processes are viable but she questioned whether resolution should be considered a process or an outcome. As a result of the project, she concluded it is possible to translate the model into a functioning school-community relations program.

In studying the roles of staff members, Karges used the five control functions of plan, organize, stimulate, coordinate, and evaluate. She found these functions are often performed simultaneously at both the unit and the school level. Karges found it was not possible to differentiate the role of the unit leader from that of the unit teachers. In addition, she concluded the role of the principal in development and maintaining school-community relations is more important than previously assumed. She also noted provisions must be made for the roles of aides, the principal's secretary, and pupil services personnel.

Karges suggested a constraint to implementing the model was related to the time needed by both the principal and teachers to concentrate on developing effective school-community relations. She stated it would require at least eight months for a full-time coordinator to implement the program. A principal who has a myriad of other responsibilities would require even more time. Teachers, concerned with their instructional responsibilities, tended to be crisis oriented and had to be frequently reminded of the long-term objectives of the project.

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[29] Karges, pp. 213-215, 219-222.

The Significance of this Study

To date, research on the models developed by the Home-School-Community Relations Project has focused on what schools are doing to implement the home-school-community relations component of Individually Guided Education. It is apparent planned school-community relations programs do not exist in the IGE schools which have been studied, but there has been no attempt to examine the variables which cause school staffs to allocate their resources as they do. Karges approached the subject when she observed that time needed for implementing a school-community relations program had a tendency to prohibit long-range planning of school-community relations activities. The study described in this dissertation is an attempt to identify other variables which may be viewed as supports for or constraints against the development of an effective school-community relations program.

The value of this study is reflected in its timeliness as it relates to the dissemination of IGE principles within the changing urban environment. The Implementation Project of the R & D Center has launched an effort to establish more IGE schools in urban districts. While the findings of this study are not generalizable beyond the school in which the research was conducted, the related urban literature suggests the number of schools serving similar populations is increasing. This implies the results of this exploratory study may enhance or inhibit their efforts to implement the school-community relations component of IGE.

While IGE schools may have many common characteristics, it was hypothesized before this study was undertaken that school-community relations in urban, inner-city IGE schools are likely to be affected by unique environmental and organizational influences. The remainder of this chapter provides a sample of the related literature which guided the researcher in the development of an initial framework for viewing the school and the community which constituted the focal points of the study.

Effects of Metropolitanization on Urban Schools

The path which led to the current level of educational crisis for urban schools is closely related to the changing profile of the people who live in the cities. In the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth century, large numbers of European immigrants were absorbed into the growing cities. Most came to this new country with future-oriented values based on the work ethic principles of getting ahead. This influx of white, foreign-born settlers was reduced to a trickle by restrictive immigration laws which were passed in the late 1920's. Their migratory contemporaries were native-born blacks who left a background of slavery, share-cropping, and marginal survival to move North. The latter movement continued until the Depression of the 1930's which brought all migration into and within the United States to a virtual standstill.

A new era of mass movement was generated by the defense boom which preceded World War II. Previously unavailable economic opportunities were created for the native-born rural poor who were quick to migrate toward those places which promised a better, more affluent life. Additional foreign-born immigrants joined the move to the cities but the major migratory shift involved persons who were already United States citizens. In the last thirty-five years two primary patterns of migration have affected the cities and their schools. First, the minority population of the nation has experienced major geographic relocation and urbanization. Second, there has been and continues to be a growing trend toward suburbanization and ex-urbanization of the predominantly white middle-class.[30]

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[30] For historical descriptions of migratory patterns in the United States and their effects on urban education see: Edward C. Banfield, The Unheavenly City Revisited (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1974), pp. 25-51. Alan K. Campbell, "Socioeconomic and Governmental Characteristics Related to Education," in Metropolitanism: Its Challenge to Education, ed. Robert J. Havighurst (Chicago: The Sixty-Seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, 1968), pp. 13-37. Phillip J. Meranto, School Politics in the Metropolis (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 15-33. Raymond W. Mack, "Suburb, Central City, and Education," in Metropolitanism: Its Challenge to Education, ed. Robert J. Havighurst (Chicago: The Sixty-Seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, 1968), pp. 71-87. Raymond C. Hummel and John M. Nagle, Urban Education in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

Minority Migration

The most dramatic shift in residential location during the last ✓ thirty-five years has occurred within the black population. In 1940, three-fourths of the blacks in the United States lived in the South.[31] By 1970, 52 percent of the black population lived in the South, 20 percent lived in the Northeast, 20 percent lived in the North Central region, and 8 percent lived in the West. Between 1960 and 1970 alone, the states of California, New York, Illinois, New Jersey, and Michigan each added 100,000 blacks to their population through migration. During the same period, the states of Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, North Carolina, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Georgia had black migration losses which exceeded 100,000 persons.[32]

Though not as great as the movement of blacks, there have also been changes in the geographical distribution of other minorities since 1950. Big cities on the East Coast received an influx of citizens (about 86 percent of all those on the mainland) from the island of Puerto Rico. All states showed growth in their Native American populations. There was some movement of Mexican Americans but the largest proportion of this minority group still resides in five Southestern states.[33] A sometimes forgotten minority of impoverished whites from southern mountain areas also moved in considerable numbers to the Midwest and to the border states.[34] The major significance of the change in geographic distribution described above is that they not only moved from region to region but, except for Native Americans, the largest proportion of all minorities also moved to urban areas.[35] Rather than trace the urbanization of each group this chapter will concentrate on that group which has made the largest impact on inner-city schools, the American black.

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[31] Banfield, p. 34.

[32] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Twenty Years After Brown: Equal Opportunity in Housing (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, December 1975), p. 120.

[33] Ibid., p. 121.

Urbanization of Blacks

Since 1950, the proportion of the black population in metropolitan areas has been rising much faster than the proportion of white population in these areas. During the twenty years between 1950 and 1970, the percentage of all people living in metropolitan areas (SMSA's)[36] rose by 6.1 percent. The increase for the white population was 4.8 percent. During the same time, metropolitan residency of the black population increased by 14.9 percent.[37] A comparison of the migratory gains and losses of the forty largest cities of the United States shown in Table 1 illustrates that all but six of the cities showed an increase in black and other minority populations between 1960 and 1970.

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[34] Mack, p. 78.

[35] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Twenty Years, p. 121.

[36] The U.S. Bureau of the Census lists the following criteria for the definition of a standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA):

a. One city with 50,000 or more inhabitants.

b. A city with at least 25,000 inhabitants, which together with contiguous places (incorporated and unincorporated) having population densities of at least 1,000 persons per square mile, has a combined population of 50,000 and constitutes for general economic and social purposes a single community, oprovided that the counties in which the city and contiguous places are located has a total population of at least 75,000.

Taken from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States--1976, 97th ed. (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 901.

The urbanization of black Americans has significantly influenced the pattern of metropolitanization in the United States. Banfield describes the "logic of metropolitan growth" in terms of three imperatives:

> The first is demographic: If the population of a city increases, the city must expand in one direction or another--up, down, or from the center outwards.
>
> The second is technological: if it is feasible to transport large numbers of people outward (by train, bus, and automobile) but not upward or downward (by elevator), the city must expand outward.
>
> The third is economic: if the distribution of wealth and income is such that some can afford new housing and the time and money to commute considerable distances to work while others cannot, the expanding periphery of the city must be occupied by the first group ("the well-off") while the older, inner parts of the city, where most of the jobs for the unskilled are, must be occupied by the second group (the "not well-off").[38]

Like the earlier European immigrants who came to the cities, rural black migrants arrived looking for low cost housing, a job, and an op-

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[37] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Twenty Years, p. 122, citing U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States--1971, table 14.

[38] Banfield, p. 25.

TABLE 1[39]

MIGRATION GAINS AND LOSSES, BY RACE:
40 CITIES, 1960 TO 1970

CITY	NEGRO AND OTHER RACES		WHITES	
	Number	Percent[1]	Number	Percent
New York	435,840	38.2	-955,519	-14.4
Chicago	113,194	13.5	-645,866	-23.8
Los Angeles	119,522	28.7	-48,288	-2.3
Philadelphia	39,648	7.4	-246,435	-16.8
Detroit	97,533	20.0	-386,771	-32.7
Houston	55,619	25.6	67,243	9.3
Baltimore	31,737	9.7	-149,741	-24.5
Dallas	46,899	35.7	7,525	1.4
Washington, D. C.	38,348	9.2	-138,322	-40.1
Cleveland	-2,769	-1.1	-206,373	-33.1
Indianapolis	15,420	15.3	-17,429	-2.9
Milwaukee[2]	23,038	35.0	-128,388	-19.0
San Francisco	37,485	27.6	-93,122	-15.4
San Diego	17,305	-38.7	27,616	5.2
San Antonio	5,304	12.3	-52,349	-9.6
Boston	26,493	38.7	-130,621	-20.8
Memphis[3]	22,581	12.2	34,542	11.0
St. Louis.	-948	-0.4	-181,815	-34.0
New Oreleans	-10,548	-4.5	-91,607	-23.3
Phoenix	5,599	21.8	71,453	17.3
Columbus	9,371	12.0	-10,600	-2.7
Seattle	9,810	21.1	-72,572	-14.2
Jacksonville	-3,914	-3.7	5,337	1.5
Pittsburg	-6,444	-6.3	-99,079	-19.7
Denver	12,154	34.5	-41,116	-9.0

[1] Percentage pertains to 1960 population base.

[2] Figures are for Milwaukee County.

[3] Some change is the result of annexation to the central city.

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[39] Ibid., pp. 126-127.

TABLE 1 (Continued)

CITY	NEGRO AND OTHER RACES		WHITES	
	Number	Percent[1]	Number	Percent
Kansas City, Mo.	13,037	15.5	-28,835	-7.4
Atlanta	32,707	17.5	-82,474	-27.4
Buffalo	8,965	12.2	-111,095	-24.2
Cincinnati	-2,520	-2.3	-106,096	-27.0
Nashville	2,354	3.1	-1,906	-0.6
San Jose[4]				
Minneapolis	7,239	46.4	-94,381	-20.2
Fort Worth	11,250	19.8	-19,435	-6.3
Toledo[3]	5,785	14.3	-28,645	-10.3
Portland, OR	4,661	22.3	-7,565	2.2
Newark	31,506	22.6	-106,583	-40.1
Oklahoma City	5,242	12.4	-10,425	-3.7
Oakland	29,463	30.4	-61,373	-22.7
Louisville	6,978	9.9	-78,093	-24.4
Long Beach	8,177	55.4	-18,942	-5.8

[3] Some change is the result of annexation to the central city.

[4] No racial migration figures are provided for the city of San Jose.

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, General Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas, 1960 to 1970, 1970 Census of Population, series PHS(2), 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 32, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45, 49, 51.

portunity to improve on the status of an earlier life. They crowded into the central cities and soon found that they did not have the skills for urban employment nor the educational backgrounds to find the resources for adjusting to urban living. The frustration, despair, and hopelessness of living in these new ghettos is documented by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, David A. Schulz, Claude Brown, and

Kenneth B. Clark.[40] Mel Ravitz describes the newly arrived city dwellers by saying:

> They are poor, some very poor; they have never known comfort and convenience in material things; they were reared on the hard hearths of country cabins and they knew few of the graces or niceties or urban living; they have many different standards of health, of sanitation, of education; their religion is, by middle-class urban criteria, pentecostal and primitive with much appeal to emotion--a frontier religion filled with the colloquialisms of their region, and they have various kinds of southern accents that set them apart. Finally, most of them have had little formal schooling; they are thus untrained for most work in the industrial community, and if they get work at all, they must accept the menial, unskilled, low-paying, transient jobs.[41]

Segregation by Race and Social Class

Unlike the white immigrant, who after a generation or two moved out of the central city and was assimilated into the larger culture, the later phases of black migration have not followed Banfield's logic for metropolitan growth. As recently as 1970 blacks still made up 78 percent of the central city population in the United States.[42] Statistics show that whites are moving out of the cities in record numbers and the black inner-city population is continuing to grow (see Table 1, pages 28-29).

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[40] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *A Time to Listen. . . A Time to Act* (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967). David A. Schulz, *Coming Up Black* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969). Claude Brown, *Manchild in the Promised Land* (New York: McMillan, 1965). Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965).

[41] Mel Ravitz, "The Role of the School in the Urban Setting," In *Education in Depressed Areas*, ed. A. Harry Passow (New York: Teachers College Press, 1963), p. 12.

[42] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Twenty Years*, Citing U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1971, table 14.

Two explanations, both of which have implications for relationships between the home and the school, are given as reasons for the racial isolation which exists between blacks and whites today. One view maintains blacks have been unable to move out of the central cities because of discrimination based on color. In this respect, Clark states:

> The victims of segregation do not initially desire to be segregated, they do not "prefer to be with their own people," in spite of the fact that this belief is commonly stated by those who are not themselves segregated.[43]

In the proceedings of a conference before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights regarding the implications for metropolitan desegregation, it is noted:

> What was odd about the American post-World War II residential patterns was not development of suburbs by whites but the intense system of discrimination that prevented blacks from following them to the suburbs.[44]

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[43] Clark, p. 63.

[44] Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Educational Implications," in Milliken V. Bradley: The Implications for Metropolitan Desegregation, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 60.

The Kerner Commission reported the exclusion of blacks from white neighborhoods is based on a variety of discriminatory practices. These may range from intimidation to actual threats of violence.[45] In addition, there is the phenomena known as "white flight." This pattern of migration occurs when whites sell their homes or move from their apartments as soon as one black family moves into the neighborhood. Wegmann suggests that "nonentrance" by whites plays a more predominant role in segregating neighborhoods than white flight. He states, "given constant density, a growing minority population staying within the central city will inevitably produce an increasing number of segregated neighborhoods. . . ."[46] Wegmann suggests there appears to be a pattern of blacks moving short distances into racially mixed neighborhoods. At the same time, whites do not compete for the available housing and the neighborhood becomes all black.

Another school of thought suggests that while problems of racial prejudice do indeed exist, "the population is redistributed between city and suburb on the basis of social class as much as race."[47] It should be noted the literature makes frequent reference to the lower class migrants who come to the cities and the middle or upper classes who leave for the suburbs. In this context, class refers to a phenomena of social stratification which may be measured by objective/productive criteria such as income, schooling, and occupation or by subjective/consumptive criteria such as attitudes, tastes, and values.

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[45] National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, p. 245.

[46] Robert G. Wegmann, "White Flight and School Resegregation: Some Hypotheses," Phi Delta Kappan (January 1977), p. 390.

[47] Robert E. Herriott and Nancy Hoyt St. John, Social Class and the Urban School (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 2.

In a study of differences in attitudes toward education by social class, Cloward and Jones used objective measurement to define social class as follows:

> The typical lower-class person in our index has had less than an eighth-grade education, is employed as an unskilled or service worker, and lives in a family whose income per person is less than the minimum wage. The typical lower-middle class person, on the other hand, is a professional, or semi-professional, has had some college education, and lives in a family whose income per person is above the national median. The working class member falls between the two extremes. He is usually a skilled worker, a clerk or salesman having at least some high school education, whose family income per person is about average for the Lower East Side.[48]

Banfield has compiled descriptive summaries of upper, middle, working, and lower-class individuals (see Appendix B). Rather than using objective criteria, he attributes a "distinct patterning of attitudes, values, and modes of behavior" to members of each class. Banfield maintains, "the many traits that constitute a 'patterning' are all consequences, indirect if not direct, of a time horizon that is characteristic of class." He goes on to say:

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[48] Richard A. Cloward and James A. Jones, "Social Class: Educational Attitudes and Participation," in Education in Depressed Areas, ed. A. Harry Passow (New York: Teachers College of Columbia University, 1963), p. 196.

> The lower-class person lives from moment to moment; he is either unable or unwilling to take account of the future or to control his impulses. Improvidence and irresponsibility are direct consequences of this failure to take the future into account (which is not to say that these traits may not have further consequences: being improvident and irresponsible, he is likely also to be unskilled, to move frequently from one dead-end job to another, to be a poor husband and father. . . .)
>
> It is useful to employ the same principle--ability or willingness to provide for the future--to account for the traits that are characteristic of the other class cultures as well. The working class is more future-oriented than the lower class but less than the middle class; the middle class in turn is less future oriented than the upper. At the upper end of the class cultural scale the traits are all "opposite" those at the lower end.[49]

Wilson makes this statement in reference to social class:

> (A lower income person, of course, is not necessarily lower class; the former condition reflects how much money he has, while the latter indicates the attitudes he possesses.) Programs designed to increase propensity and end poverty (defined as having too little money) will enable lower-income persons who do care about the opinions of others to leave areas populated by lower-income persons who don't care (that is, areas populated by lower-class persons).[50]

Following Wilson's logic, the social class theory of mobility suggests people leave the inner-city when they desire and can afford to be near people (of any race) who have similar social class values.

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[49] Banfield, pp. 53-54.

[50] James I. Wilson, "The Urban Unease: Community vs. City," in Crisis in Urban Education, ed. Lawrence A. Fink and Raymond A. Ducharme (Waltham, Mass.: Xerox College Publishing, 1971), p. 12.

These arguments have been refuted in several government publications.[51] In its Statement on Metropolitan School Desegregation the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, citing the work of demographer Reynolds Farley, stated racial segregation cannot be explained by income difference because:

> If blacks retained their present incomes but were represented in suburbs to the same extent as whites at each income level, forty-three percent of all black families in the New York City metropolitan area would live in suburbs instead of the seventeen percent who actually do live there.
>
> Further evidence that the causes of racial segregation are not primarily economic is found in the fact that well-to-do whites are more likely to have as their neighbors lower income whites than affluent blacks.[52]

Arguments against racial segregation as a result of free choice by blacks or the "clannishness" of blacks are also refuted in the report.

In spite of these arguments Banfield maintains, "there would be residential segregation in the city even if there were no Negroes in it."[53] He further states:

> Much of what appears (especially to Negroes) as race prejudice is really class prejudice or, at any rate,

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[51] See U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Twenty Years, p. 123. Also, Pettigrew, "Educational Implications," pp. 60-61.

[52] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Statement on Metropolitan School Desegregation (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, (February 1977), pp. 16-17.

[53] Banfield, p. 91.

> class antipathy. Similarly, much of what appears (especially to whites) as "Negro" behavior is really lower-class behavior.[54]

The following statements are used to illustrate the interrelatedness of race and social class as criteria for the sorting of people between the cities and the suburbs. Banfield states:

> Obviously, racial prejudice is manifested when, as often happens, the Negro is automatically regarded as lower class simply on the basis of his skin color when he is treated as if he were lower class even though it is clear that he is not.[55]

In this respect, the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders concludes:

> It is obviously true that some residential separation of whites and Negroes would occur even without discriminatory practices by whites. This would result from the desires of some Negroes to live in predominantly Negro neighborhoods and from differences in meaningful social variables, such as income and educational levels. But these factors alone would not lead to the almost complete segregation of whites and Negroes which has developed in our metropolitan areas.[56]

Regardless of the reasons for residential separation of the races, the results are reflected in segregated schools. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has reported three of every four black pupils in the twenty-six largest cities of the nation attend schools intensely segregated to the point of having 90 to 100 percent minority in their enrollment.[57] The problem of racial isolation is complicated as inner-city enclaves grow larger due to "white flight" and "nonentrance" by whites, thus segregating entire school districts. This situation is documented by the following 1974 enrollment information taken from the Statement on Metropolitan School Desegregation:

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[54] Ibid., p. 87.

[55] Ibid., p. 89.

[56] National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, p. 245.

City	Percent Minority Enrollment (Black and Hispanic)
Chicago	70+
Detroit	70+
New York	60+
Philadelphia	60+
Los Angeles	50+
	Percent Black Enrollment
Cleveland	60+
St. Louis	60+
Richmond	70+
Baltimore	70+
Atlanta	80+
Wilmington, Del.	80+

> Within many of these big city systems many individual schools contain disproportionately high percentages of minority or white children. In Baltimore, for example, in 1972 whites constituted only 30 percent of the system's enrollment, but about two-thirds of these white students were in schools that were 80 to 100 percent white. In Dallas, Texas, Anglo whites constituted only half of the enrollment of the system, but most of these pupils were in schools that were 80 to 100 percent Anglo white.[58]

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[57] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Statement, p. 6.

[58] Ibid., p. 9.

In addition to reflecting the racial composition of the city, schools also reflect changes in the city's social composition. In his much referred to Slums and Suburbs, Conant reported the nature of the community largely determines what goes on in school. He went on to say, "I believe that the evidence indicates that it is the socioeconomic situation, not the color of the children, which makes the Negro slums so difficult. The real issue is not racial integration but socioeconomic integration."[59] In a reanalysis of the Conant findings by a group of social scientists and educators at Harvard, two of the substantiated findings were:

1. The vast majority of schools are segregated by color, and
2. The two most significant variables which displayed a consistent relation with test performance were social class of parents and social class of fellow students.[60]

According to Census Bureau reports, 9.7 percent of all the white families in the United States were below the poverty level in 1975. The figure for black families was 31.3 percent of their total.[61] Using income as an objective measure of social class, a predominantly black inner-city school is likely to be a predominantly lower-class school, though not all children will come from families with lower-class values.

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[59] James Bryant Conant, Slums and Suburbs (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1961), p. 30.

[60] F. Mosteller and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds., On Equality of Educational Opportunity (New York: Random House, 1972), pp. 7, 15.

[61] U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1976, p. 415.

Environmental and Organizational Influences on Home-School-Community Relations in Urban, Inner-City Schools

As stated previously one of the underlying assumptions of this research is that certain environmental and organizational factors are likely to facilitate or inhibit school-community relations in an inner-city IGE school. In addition to the previously discussed general environmental influences of (1) population mobility leading to urbanization and metropolitanization, and (2) racial and social class segregation of cities and school districts, this section deals with (3) the black subculture and (4) parental attitudes toward the schools. Following consideration of these environmental influences, the discussion focuses on organizational factors which may operate as supports or constraints to school-community relations in inner-city schools. These include: (1) attitudes of teachers, (2) federal and state programs, (3) mandated desegregation, (4) bureaucracy, decentralization and community control, and (5) unions. The chapter is concluded with a section on implications of the literature for this study.

The Black Subculture

In reference to the life styles of black people, Johnson states:

> The historical twins of slavery and discrimination
> have caused blacks to give their own peculiar twist

> to some of the characteristics shared by other ethnic groups, to acquire other characteristics, and to be affected by other factors with educational implications.[62]

People are a product of their cultural environments. They learn a way of life from their family and friends. Sometimes the patterns of life they learn are distinctly different but not totally separate from a larger whole. In other words, they are a part of a subculture. In the case of black people, Johnson writes:

> The system of discrimination and segregation that has operated against them for so long has caused them to develop a way of life that differs from the dominant culture. Their subculture is their way of coping with life.[63]

Without becoming involved in the debate over those characteristics which are primarily lower-class behaviors and those which are derived from the black culture, the reader is reminded that a disproportionate number of black inner-city residents are also those who can be described as being lower-class. Ausubel and Ausubel, in their discussion of class characteristics, summarized a variety of studies and literature from the 1941-1961 period. They discussed the characteristic facets of a lower-class value system as it related to the ego development of segregated black children. Some of the characteristics which are relevant to this discussion include:

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[62] Kenneth R. Johnson, Teaching the Culturally Disadvantaged (Palo Alto: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1970), pp. 50-51.

[63] Ibid., p. 51.

> Lower-class parents are more causal, inconsistent, and authoritarian than middle-class parents in controlling their children.
>
> Lower-class parents resort to harsh corporal forms of punishment.
>
> Lower-class parents extend less succorant care and relax closely monitored supervision much earlier than their middle-class counterparts. Children become precociously independent at an earlier age.
>
> Lower-class children are free to roam the neighborhood and join unsupervised play groups much earlier than middle-class children.
>
> Lower-class children assume adult responsibilities such as earning money and caring for younger siblings at an earlier age.
>
> School plays a less significant role among lower-class children than it does in the middle-class.
>
> Lower-class parents place less value on education and are less able to help children with learning problems because of their own lack of education.[64]

In addition to the characteristics of lower-class people in general, Ausubel and Ausubel point out that lower-class black families exhibit behavior patterns which can be attributed to their racial affiliations. These include:

> Negro families are more unstable than comparable lower-class families.

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[64] David P. Ausubel and Pearl Ausubel, "Ego Development Among Segregated Negro Children," in Education in Depressed Areas, ed. A. Harry Passow (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), pp. 113-114, 117.

> Homes are more apt to be broken; fathers are more frequently absent and a matriarchical and negative family atmosphere more commonly prevails.
>
> Children are more often raised by grandmothers or by older sisters while the mother works after the father has deserted the family.
>
> Negro family life is even more authoritarian in nature than it is in the lower social class generally.
>
> Children are expected to be submissive. Insubordination is suppressed by harsh and often brutal physical punishment.
>
> The Negro child inherits an inferior caste status and is more likely to have negative self-esteem.[65]

Henry[66] studied fifty families, almost all of whom were black, who lived in a St. Louis housing project. He concluded the attitudes of the subjects toward space, time, objects, and persons lacked predictability. One example of this randomly oriented behavior was that the residents made a strong distinction between C. P. (colored people's) time and W. P. (white people's) time. According to C. P. time, a scheduled event may occur at any moment over a wide spread of hours or perhaps not at all. The respondents indicated they believed that in the highly organized world of whites, an event occurs when scheduled.

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[65] Ibid., p. 115.

[66] Jules Henry, "White People's Time, Colored People's Time," in The Disadvantaged Child, ed. Joe L. Frost and Blen R. Hawkes (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966), pp. 394-395.

In his report of a study of ten black families who lived in a large midwestern public housing project, Schulz described the socialization processes of boys and girls in a black ghetto[67] family. Schulz illustrates the use of coping devices such as "playing the dozens," "pimping," and "the strategy of cool".[68] He traces the patterns of mistrust in interpersonal relationships between sexes and he describes the course of events which lead to desertion of a family by a father. Schulz paints vivid profiles of black ghetto residents whose cultural influences have trapped them into a life without hope.

Pettigrew reinforces the black subculture concept when he writes:

> For when American society isolates the lower-class Negro from contact with the general norms and prevents him from sharing in the rewards which follow from abiding by these norms, it guarantees the emergence of a ghetto subculture with different standards of conduct, motivation, and family life.[69]

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[67] Forman states that although the terms "slum" and "ghetto" are frequently used interchangeably, it should be noted they refer to different phenomena. He states residence in a ghetto is the result of racial or cultural characteristics, whereas residence in a slum is determined primarily by economic factors. "A slum-ghetto would be an area inhabited by economically poor segregated minority group members." See Robert E. Forman, Black Ghettos, White Ghettos, and Slums (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 3.

[68] Schulz, pp. 67-69, 78-80, 82-85.

[69] Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the American Negro (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1964), p. 16.

The ghetto subculture described by Pettigrew is one of family disorganization in which poverty and migration have played a part in maintaining the old slave pattern of a mother-centered family. He notes as part of this mother-centered pattern, a greater interest is taken in females than in males. He cites a prevalence of divorce, separation, and illegitimacy among poor blacks. Under these circumstances boys do not have male role models in the home and their socialization is left to their peers. Pettigrew suggests a black male with a strong ego may be able to survive this ghetto experience but a "psychologically vulnerable" black person is likely to become a victim of mental illness, drug addiction, or crime as determined by his previous life history.[70]

Attitudes of Inner-City Parents Toward the School

In Racial Isolation in the Public Schools it was stated that in middle-class communities parents show a concern for their children's schooling by becoming deeply involved in school affairs. The report further stated poor parents are no less concerned with education than are more affluent parents. Many lower-class parents see education as the primary avenue out of the ghetto for their children. Yet, they do not become involved in school activities because their major concern is one of trying to provide basic material things for their families. It was also stated many parents do not participate because they feel they do not have much influence in school affairs.[71]

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[70] Ibid, pp. 15-24

After describing various school practices, Fusco concluded:

> Generally, socially disadvantaged parents are interested in their children's education and are eager for them to succeed in school; their seeming indifference and apathy reflect their lack of knowledge regarding the nature of the demands the school will place on their children, and their lack of skills concerning ways which they can prepare their children for the transition from home to school, and reinforce and support school efforts made on behalf of their children.[72]

Herriott and St. John,[73] in a study of pupil socioeconomic status and the public school teacher, found schools at either end of the socioeconomic continuum differed significantly in indices of home stability and of parental support of the school. The lower the school socioeconomic status, the smaller the percentage of parents who were reported to attend school events, to initiate talks with teachers, or to give their children adequate supervision.

After conducting interviews as part of his research study, Trubowitz answers the question, "What do people in the community expect of the school?" as follows:

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[71] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation, p. 78.

[72] Gene C. Fusco, "Reaching the Parents," in The Inner-City Classroom: Teacher Behaviors, ed. Robert D. Strom (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, 1966), p. 159.

[73] Herriott and St. John, p. 204.

> Basically, then the parents of the community expect that teachers will recognize the variations in people and families, move into the community with open minds, deal firmly with their classes, show a belief in the ability of the children to learn, and help the children to achieve.[74]

After five and one-half years as a participant-observer in a Harlem slum school, Rosenfeld concluded teachers failed to realize the apathy and disparagement they associated with parents were attributed by the parents to the teachers. He goes on to state:

> Parents of children in Harlem cannot be expected to submit forever to the inferior education their children have been accorded. The rising militancy among minority groups has resulted from wariness and weariness with slum school procedures.[75]

Based on impressions of beginning teachers in inner-city schools, Fuchs[76] concluded parental concern for children is not limited to middle and upper classes but the school presents physical and social barriers to the poor while at the same time seeking their involvement. In terms of physical barriers she cites locked doors, guards, and the requirement of entry permits. Socially, she states communication between parents and teachers is inhibited by the use of formal language. Other social boundaries are obvious to parents when they see the middle-class staff leaving the community each day to go to their homes which are outside of the ghetto. Fuchs further indicates other reasons for parents not coming to the school may include conflicting work schedules, commitment to family responsibilities, fear growing out of negative personal experiences, or the belief they are not welcome except to hear criticism of their children.

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[74] Sidney Trubowitz, A Handbook for Teaching in the Ghetto School (Chicago: Quandrangel Books, 1968), p. 140.

[75] Gerry Rosenfeld, Shut Those Thick Lips: A Study of Slum School Failure (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971), p. 113.

[76] Estelle Fuchs, Teachers Talk (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1969), pp. 134-137.

Attitudes of Teachers

Little has been done to verify the influence of the teacher on school-community relations. However Urofsky says, "Unless teachers and the community work together, there is no hope for saving urban schools."[77] Webster states one of the challenges of teaching in a ghetto school is to relate to the parents and the children in a way which communicates interest, commands respect and convinces them school success is possible. He goes on to suggest:

> The strongest allies of the urban school and the teachers are the parents of the students in such schools. Too often the school and the staff make no effort to involve these important adults in meaningful ways. A fear of parental interference

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[77] Melvin I. Urofsky, "Reflections on Ocean Hill," in Why Teachers Strike, ed. Melvin I. Urofsky (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1970), p. 27.

> in affairs of the school pervades much of urban education.[78]

A considerable amount of research has been done on the effect of the socioeconomic status of teachers on the achievement of lower-class children. Using a somewhat different approach, Herriott and St. John[79] sought to verify three related themes in the literature concerning the relationships between pupil social class and the public school teacher. These themes are the "culture-gap hypothesis," the "horizontal mobility hypothesis," and the "inequality hypothesis." The culture-gap hypothesis suggests teachers are not only middle-class in origin, but completely middle-class in occupational status and values and are therefore different from their lower-class pupils. Herriott and St. John were not able to support this hypothesis with their findings.

The horizontal mobility hypothesis suggests because of problems of teaching, of discipline, and of pupils with unacceptable morals most teachers eventually transfer away from the lower-class school in which their careers typically begin. This hypothesis received some indirect support from the data of the study. The fact that elementary schools of low socioeconomic status have proportionately more young and inexperienced teachers suggests that the career pattern of many teachers is away from low socioeconomic schools toward high socioeconomic schools.

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[78] Staten W. Webster, "Crucible in the Urban Classroom," in The Conditions for Educational Equality, ed. Sterling M. McMurrin (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1971), p. 102.

[79] Herriott and St. John, pp. 205-209.

The inequality hypothesis asserts that school systems do not distribute their resources equitably, but favor middle-class schools in the assignment of staff, as well as in the building and maintenance of plants and in the allocation of teaching materials and special resources. Herriott and St. John were unable to prove or disprove this hypothesis but they indicated teachers report lower morale in schools of low socioeconomic status.

Data gathered by Herriott and St. John also suggests principals resemble teachers in socioeconomic origin. As in the case of teachers, as school socioeconomic status declines, principals are younger and less experienced. They are also more apt to be male. Principals in low socioeconomic schools expressed dissatisfaction with many aspects of their jobs and indicated a desire for a position of greater "responsibility" and "prestige."

In a study of black inner-city teachers in Chicago, Smith[80] concluded there is a direct relationship between commitment to teaching in the inner-city and social-class origin. Teachers with low social-class origins are more likely to develop commitment to teaching in the inner-city than are teachers with high social-class origins.

In a field study in which he played the role of a participant-observer, Rist reported one teacher's attitude toward parent participation:

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[80] Calvert Hayes Smith, "Social Class Origin and Mobility of Black Inner-City School Teachers," Urban Education 5 (April 1970): 65-83.

> A subject that periodically arose in informal discussion with Mrs. Caplow was what she believed to be a lack of parental interest and involvement in the children and their school activities. She commented on several occasions that if the home was more concerned about the school, the school situation would vastly improve and the teacher 'could really begin to teach.' In cases where there was parental participation, she believed it, for the most part, to be tenuous at best, that with the least discouragement, the parents would lose all interest in the school.[81]

Rosenfeld taught in a Harlem elementary school for five and one-half years while collecting the data for his doctoral study. He states:

> Though Harlem School belonged to the neighborhood, it was not psychologically part of it . . . . Teachers felt unwanted, estranged. . . . Some teachers at Harlem School had never been to a single child's household, despite the fact that they had been employed at the school for many years. Nothing was known of community self-descriptions, the activity and social calendar in the neighborhood, the focal points of assembly and dispersal, or the feelings of the residents toward the "outside world."[82]

Utilizing data from the Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited (NARYOU) studies, Clark points out the significance of teacher attitudes as related to students' success. His observations are relevant to the broader area of relationships between teachers and parents of the students in their classrooms. Clark says:

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[81] Ray C. Rist, The Urban School: A Factory for Failure (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1973), p. 103.

[82] Rosenfeld, p. 113.

> A serious part of the problem is that of white middle-class teachers in identifying with, accepting, and achieving empathy with children labeled as "alien or unappealing." . . . The clash of cultures is essentially a class war, a socioeconomic and racial warfare being waged on the battleground of our schools, with middle-class and middle-class aspiring teachers with a power-arsenal of half-truths, prejudices, and rationalizations, arrayed against hopelessly outclassed working-class youngsters.[83]

Trubowitz observed teachers do not like to accept positions in ghetto schools. They may fear violence, physical attack or doubt their own ability to handle the children in the classroom. They may also feel unprepared to deal with values and manners which are different from their own. He states:

> Those teachers who do accept positions in ghetto schools are often ill-equipped to deal with the situations they meet. So some flee the area seeking positions elsewhere, and others develop rigid teaching patterns which enable them to maintain their sense of equilibrium but which do not make for optimum learning for the children.[84]

Trubowitz provides illustrations of teacher success in ghetto schools based on interviews he conducted. He says:

> The teachers who meet with success are those who stop to buy sodas or packs of cigarettes at the corner candy store, who telephone or visit children who are ill, who place their summer addresses on the blackboard for children to write to them, . . . [85]

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[83] Clark, p. 129.

[84] Trubowitz, p. 6.

[85] Ibid., p. 41.

One successful teacher in Trubowitz's study said:

> I became more aware and less defensive in time as I learned about the neighborhood and the children. I remember that I went to a neighborhood church one Sunday. Seeing the kids that way was different. It made them look at me differently.[86]

Federal and State Compensatory Programs

During the mid and late 1960's as part of the War on Poverty, the federal government attempted to influence the education of poor children through federally funded projects established under the Elementary and Second Education Act (ESEA) and the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Most of the programs were located in black schools and were aimed at remedial and enrichment instruction and the acquisition of positive self-images for ghetto children. These projects, mainly Headstart and Title I of ESEA, provided guidelines and budgets for community involvement and the establishment of school-community advisory groups. The programs advocated parent participation in making decisions and encouraged involvement by those affected by the legislation. Schools were encouraged to communicate with parents about the programs and to educate them so that they would make informed decisions.[87]

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[86] Ibid., p. 55.

[87] James A. Harris, "Community Participation in Education." Paper presented at Teacher Corps Association Conference on Community Participation in Education, Madison, Wisconsin, 10 December, 1974, p. 11.

Many of the communications and involvement activities discussed in this study grew out of these federal programs. In reflecting on the participatory ventures of the 1960's, Featherstone suggests:

> Historians will write fascinating chapters on extraordinary social inventiveness involving participation. Head Start at its best is one of my favorite examples of how substantial amounts of parent participation can be reconciled with professional and educational standards. The money for Title I of President Johnson's 1965 ESEA bill did not redeem the education of poor kids; students of its impact tend to be dubious about its effects. Yet, it helped out a good many distressed schools, and its mandate for parent participation, however honored in the breech, is a clear influence on several recent participatory reforms.[88]

Parent involvement was legitimated through the federal programs of the 1960's and continued to be supported by federal monies and guidelines. In addition, state education agencies began to develop their own policies on parent involvement in the 1970's. Safran[89] reports in a survey conducted in 1973 by the Center for the Study of Parent Involvement that fourteen states acknowledged having some legislation which demanded or recommended parent involvement. Eighteen states reported having policies or regulations regarding parent participation in at least one of nine different involvement areas.

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[88] Joseph Featherstone, "Introduction" in Schools That Make a Difference, ed. Don Davies (Boston: Institute for Responsive Education, 1976), pp. 14-15.

[89] Daniel Safran, "Preparing Teachers for Parent Involvement." Paper presented at Teacher Corps Association Conference on Community Participation in Education, Madison, Wisconsin, 10 December 1974, pp. 6-7.

Mandated Desegregation

Just as compensatory education programs were designed to be a remedy for low black achievement, the landmark Brown v. Board of Education decision of 1954 attempted to equalize educational opportunity for black children by stating, "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."[90] At the time, and for ten years thereafter, school desegregation was considered an essentially Southern problem. In 1966, the publication of the Coleman Report revealed most Northern school children were attending schools which were racially imbalanced due to "de facto" segregation. What the Coleman researchers had expected to find was evidence from the South indicating inequality of separate facilities led to unequal achievement for black children. Instead, they found that facilities and resources were almost identical for majority-black and majority-white schools. In addition, they found there was an achievement gap between black and white children throughout the nation which was not closed by equal schooling in separate facilities. They observed black children in majority-white schools scored slightly higher than black children in all black or majority-black schools. From this they concluded, "If a minority pupil from a home without much educational strength is put with schoolmates with strong educational backgrounds, his achievement is likely to increase.[91] Young and Bress state:

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[90] Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. at 495, 74 Ct., at 692. 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

> With popular acceptance of the Coleman Report, the educational goal of "equality of opportunity" became transformed into a political demand for "equality of educational results." This shift in goals led directly to the massive busing programs undertaken in our major cities.[92]

A number of problems related to urban desegregation are listed by Bullock.[93] These include the cost of dismantling dual systems, the logistical challenge of obtaining racial balance, and parent objections to busing young children. Another problem is the resegregation of big-city systems as whites move to the suburbs or send their children to private schools in an attempt to avoid desegregation. The latter leads to financial problems for districts by eroding the tax base and by the unwillingness of those who are not using the public schools to support school bond referenda. Foster includes the problems of cost on his list of constraints in urban desegregation. In addition, he lists concerns which are likely to emerge in the local school neighborhood. These are:

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[91] James S. Coleman et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity Report (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 22.

[92] Biloine Whiting Young and Grace Billings Bress, "A New Educational Decision: Is Detroit the End of the School Bus Line?," Phi Delta Kappan, (April 1975): 517.

[93] Charles S. Bullock III, "Desegregating Urban Areas: Is it Worth It? Can It Be Done?" in School Desegregation, ed. Florence Hamlish Levinsohn and Benjamin Drake Wright (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 125-129.

1. Neighborhood school mystique: A child's alleged right to attend his "neighborhood school" has become a rallying point against urban desegregation, even though the courts have repeatedly denied this prerogative.
2. Fears about academic achievement: the questions of whether desegregation serves to improve the academic achievement of minority pupils without impairing majority pupil performance and whether the degree of desegregation is a factor in this process is repeatedly raised.
3. The busing phenomenon: Segregated housing patterns in cities usually require additional busing.[94]

Despite the impact desegregation has on inner-city schools, little is available in the literature addressing the parent and teacher issues which emerge in the process. John Peterson wrote an article based on his wife's experience as a new white teacher in a black school. Some of his salient points include:

> The black students of the white teachers found it impossible to ignore race. In most classrooms black students began systematic testing of white teachers. . . . The simplest test involved moving very close to the teacher when asking a question about school matters.

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[94] Gordon Foster, "Implications for Desegregation Centers," in Milliken v. Bradley: The Implications for Metropolitan Desegregation, ed. U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 135.

> During the first few days relationships between white and black teachers were very formal, moving toward avoidance.
>
> During the initial days the black principal was the one person to whom these troubled white teachers could turn.
>
> Avoidance and formalism (between women teachers) began to break down only when white females teachers entered the classrooms of black female teachers to request information or to ask advice.
>
> One of the most surprising experiences for white teachers was their initial inability to distinguish between their students, especially when attempting to describe a student to another teacher.
>
> The white teachers felt very welcome in black community settings after they overcame some initial fear as a result of their high visibility.[95]

Holman provides a variety of suggestions for resolving problems associated with school desegregation. These include keeping parents thoroughly informed of what is to take place; providing an adequate orientation for teachers and students who will be directly involved; allaying parental fears about transportation; developing a buddy system for students, parents, and teachers who are new to a school; answering questions about the quality of education at the new school; and development of a schoolwide human relations committee which addresses itself to inservice training of staff. Holman goes on to say:

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[95] John H. Peterson, Jr., "Black-White Joking Relationships Among Newly-Integrated Faculty," Integrated Education 13 (January-February 1975): 33-37.

> Although there is widespread disagreement among blacks regarding desegregation, I think that most will agree that if busing is to take place, there should be equity in the hardships imposed by it.
>
> The only way to deal justly with this concern is to assure that there is busing in both directions, that there is total desegregation of the schools' staffs, that all the schools are equal in quality of education offered, and that formerly all black schools will be utilized without changing their names or destroying their historical achievements.[96]

Bureaucracy, Decentralization, and Community Control

Critics of urban education have consistently focused their complaints on the rigidity and inefficiencies of large city school districts. Fink and Ducharme state:

> [Bureaucratic organization has] frustrated more innovation and reform, contributed more to the dehumanization of schools, served to make schools and schoolmen inaccessible to parents and community, worked against basic precepts of public education, and has been a more critical weakness than the frequently cited financial crisis of urban systems.[97]

After studying six urban school districts using a conceptual framework which assumed that innovations was a valid measure for evaluation, Gittell and Hollander said:

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[96] Ben Holman, "Desegregation and the Community Relations Service," Integrated Education 13 (January-February 1975): 27.

[97] Lawrence A. Fink and Raymond A. Ducharme, Jr., Crisis in Urban Education (Waltham, Mass.: Xerox College Publishing, 1971), p. ix.

> ✓ The insulation of public education is two-fold: bureaucratic centralization (or more accurately overcentralization) which is a product of size, reinforced by an idealogical rationale of professionalism, which is a product of the vested interests of the educationists. The result of a static, internalized, isolated system which has been unable to respond to vastly changing needs and demands of large city populations.[98]

Historically, the middle-class has had the skills to deal with bureaucratic procedures and has shown a more active interest in the school than has the lower-class. Because those who run the schools hold middle-class values, this group has always exercised a degree of community control of its schools. The question of community control of schools by the poor was not raised until the 1960's when the federal government began funding programs aimed at the children of the poor. Before that time this group of people was politically quiet and it was assumed that they agreed with the values and operationalization of school programs.[99]

In New York City, the movement for community control of the schools was encouraged in the mid-sixties by the failure of the Board of Education to integrate I.S. 201, a newly built intermediate school in East Harlem. Outraged by having another segregated school, the parents decided to run the school themselves. After much agitation and pressure from the community, the Board of Education moved toward decentralization by setting up several smaller districts which were administered by local boards. In one of these districts, Ocean-Hill Brownsville, there were numerous incidents, including a series of strikes resulting from the conflict between the community and the United Federation of Teachers.[100] The question then, as now, was one of who was going to control the schools.[101]

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[98] Mayilyn Gittell and T. Edward Hollander, Six Urban School Districts (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), p. 197.

[99] Manuel Montano, "School and Community: Boss or Partnership." Paper presented at Teacher Corps Association Conference on Community Participation in Education, Madison, Wisconsin, 10 December 1974, pp. 1-3.

Decentralization and community control both make provisions for participation in the decision-making processes of the schools. According to Fantini, participation in decision making is a political activity which may be viewed as a continuum, "with advisory roles on the one hand and complete community control on the other. Decentralization is somewhere in between."[102] Decentralization is a process whereby a federation of semi-autonomous districts are established and maintained through a central authority. When communities talk about community control they are talking about a kind of political activity in which they secede from the central authority and establish a community school based on the common aspirations and objectives of that community.

Gittell and Hollander found all of the six school systems which they studied had some form of decentralization. To identify the extent of decentralization in each of the cities they examined the district superintendent's budgetary power, his or her personnel power and power coming from participation in general policy formulation. The salary of the assistant superintendent and the nature and size of the assistant superintendent's staff was also examined. They concluded:

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[100] Melvin I. Urofsky, Reflections, pp. 2-47.

[101] Estes.

[102] Mario D. Fantini, in Why Teachers Strike, ed. Melvin I. Urofsky (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1970), pp. 88.

> 1. The district superintendents, almost without exception, are nearly totally powerless.
>
> 2. The district superintendents' chief function seems to be to serve as a liaison between the central administration on the one hand and the schools, parents, and other community groups on the other. They tend to act as a buffer, protecting the central staff from parental dissatisfaction.
>
> 3. Secure tenure is a relevant factor characteristic of district superintendents.
>
> 4. In nearly all the cities recommendations have been made to increase the power and responsibility of the district superintendents.[103]

The controversy over community control of schools which was highlighted in Ocean-Hill Brownsville is still alive. Schiff[104] writes that after five years, community control of schools in the inner-city of New York has been a dismal failure. The district superintendent who received the brunt of Schiff's criticism responded by saying the district's decentralization plan did not permit community control. It could not fail if it was not even tried.[105]

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[103] Gittell and Hollander, p. 76.

[104] Martin Schiff, "The Educational Failure of Community Control in Inner-City New York," Phi Delta Kappan (February 1976), pp. 375-378.

To clarify issues related to the failure of urban schools to provide equal educational opportunity for black Americans and other racial minorities, the Brookings Institution sponsored a Conference on the Community School in December 1968. Ten papers were presented and discussed by thirty participants from a variety of disciplines. In conclusion:

> Many participants saw community schools as the only solution for improving black schools. They had no faith in school bureaucracies that preached integration and compensatory education but practiced neither to any extent. The agent of change that is missing under the present system is parental and community involvement, and it is now time for the community to try its hand at building schools that will succeed.[106]

Davies[107] compiled eleven case studies of successful efforts to improve education by building new relationships between schools and communities including those described below. Wigglesworth described five experimental schools in Minneapolis which were originally planned with the aid of federal funds. The alternative schools are now important components of the Minneapolis school system and will continue to operate as they have for the last five years. Wigglesworth quotes the director of the project who indicated he felt the project was successful

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[105] Luis Fuentes, "Community Control Did Not Fail in New York: It Wasn't Tried," Phi Delta Kappan (June 1976), pp. 692-695.

[106] Henry M. Levin, "Summary of Conference Discussion," in Community Control of Schools, ed. Henry M. Levin (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1970), p. 308.

[107] Don Davies, ed., Schools Where Parents Make a Difference (Boston: Institute for Responsive Education, 1976).

> because of the efforts of the parents, students, and school people to develop education alternatives, and because of their dedication to participation in decision making up and down the line. Committed parents are now an integral part of SEA (Southeast Alternative) schools, and will survive changes in administration and funding.[108]

Nash describes an educational program in Milwaukee which is run by inner-city black parents and is known as the Milwaukee Federation of Independent Community Schools. The federation was organized in 1969 with a membership of three schools. Four more joined in 1970. Five community schools are still operating. Nash states, "In the end, the continued success of the Milwaukee Federation schools must rest squarely on the parents, on their conviction that schools do make a difference, on their total commitment."[109] The biggest problem the parents faced has been getting funding to keep the schools open. Their motivation is their desire to keep their children out of the inner-city public schools.

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[108] Zeke Wigglesworth, "Alternatives in Public Schools: Minneapolis Experiment," in Schools Where Parents Make a Difference, ed. Don Davies (Boston: Institute for Responsive Education, 1976), p. 131.

[109] J. Madeleine Nash, "The Milwaukee Federation of Independent Schools," in Schools Where Parents Make a Difference, ed. Don Davies (Boston: Institute for Responsive Education, 1976), p. 120.

Teacher Unions

Another factor which may affect school-community relations in the urban inner-city is the organization of teachers into unions. This is a relatively new movement which dates back to 1961 when the United Federation of Teachers was elected collective bargaining agent in New York City. Since that time representative elections have occurred at a significant rate. The American Federation of Teachers is the primary urban organization. It represents teachers not only in New York City but also in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Philadelphia, and other large cities.[110]

The Ocean-Hill Brownsville incidents mentioned in the preceding section were the beginning of a growing alienation between teacher organizations and parent groups in large cities. Both are struggling for their share of the governance power, with the union winning more frequently through organized negotiations. Davies says:

> Teachers' organizations typically see citizen participation as a threat to their recently gained strength and power. A narrow and defensive concept of professionalism often gets written into contract provisions. The result is a growing alienation between teachers and parents, which most certainly will be damaging to the interests of students. Common sense says that teachers and parents and principals should be allies, at least when it comes to questions of edu-

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[110] Charles R. Perry and Wesley A. Wildman, The Impact of Negotiations in Public Education (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones Publishing Company, 1970), p. 13.

> cational quality and the protection and well-being and development of children.[111]

In a recent study sponsored by the National School Boards Association,[112] a research team examined bargaining contracts from twenty-eight major school districts. The results suggest school-community relations activities at the local school level may be influenced by the content of the contracts. For example, all of the contracts examined contained at least one item related to working conditions, including non-teaching duties for teachers. If home-school-community relations activities are viewed as being outside of the instructional program, the time required for their implementation may be questioned by a union member. In addition to working conditions, the research team found the issues listed below were covered by at least one item in varying percentages of contracts. The issues are numbered according to the order in which they were ranked by teacher organization leadership. All identified issues are not included in Table 2. Any issue might provide the focus for community-teacher conflict or cooperation. Those listed below appear to be related to issues discussed earlier in this chapter.

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[111] Don Davies, "Making Citizen Participation Work," National Elementary Principal (March-April 1976), p. 24.

[112] National School Boards Association, School Employee Relations Review, June 10, 1976. Reprinted from the Colorado School Board Bulletin, March 1976. The complete report, No. 1975-2, is available from NSBA, 800 State National Bank Plaza, Box 1469, Evanston, Illinois 60204.

TABLE 2

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING ISSUES

RANK ORDER	ISSUE	PERCENT OF CONTRACTS CONTAINING AT LEAST ONE ITEM
4	Time (length of school day, etc.)	89
5	Racial orientation (multi-ethnic materials, pupil integration, racial composition of faculties, etc.)	36
11	Additional personnel (aides, paraprofessionals, specialists, etc.)	93
15	Community participation (lay person's role in curriculum development, resource persons from outside the school, etc.)	36
16	Students (discipline procedures, grouping of learners, required subjects, etc.)	86

In addition to contract provisions, teacher organizations may adopt policies which encourage or discourage certain school-community relations activities. In response to an inquiry on its stand concerning school volunteers, the American Federation of Teachers stated the organization would "actively work to discourage policies and practices promoting the use of volunteers in formerly or potentially paid positions in schools" (see Appendix C).

Chapter Summary

The review of the literature in this chapter is divided into two parts. The first section is a summary of writings and research related to school-community relations. A conceptual framework is presented for the analysis of data in later chapters.

The second part of the chapter includes an overview of literature related to urban schools. Topics discussed are: (1) population mobility leading to urbanization and metropolitanization; (2) racial and social class segregation of cities and school districts; (3) the black subculture; (4) parental attitudes toward the schools; (5) attitudes of teachers; (6) federal and state programs; (7) bureaucracy, decentralization and community control; and (8) unions. It is from this multifaceted frame of reference that the researcher developed an interview protocol and guidelines for observing activities and behaviors in the school and the community which were part of this study.

Organization of the Dissertation

This chapter provides a summary of home-school-community relations literature and an overview of pertinent readings related to urban education. The chapter also provides a conceptual framework for describing and interpreting data to meet the objectives of this research study.

Chapter II provides a detailed description of the field methodology utilized in this case study including research objectives and data collection procedures.

Chapters III and IV describe the community and organizational environments of the selected urban, inner-city IGE school. Chapter V describes the instructional and home-school-community relations programs at the school. Each chapter is concluded with a summary of relevant descriptive data and findings related to the home-school-community relations objectives of the study.

Chapters VI, VII, and VIII describe activities and practices related to the home-school-community relations processes of communication, involvement, participation, analysis and resolution. These chapters are also concluded with findings related to the objectives of this study.

Chapter IX provides a summary of identified supports and constraints to home-school-community relations in an urban, inner-city IGE school. The chapter is concluded with implications for practitioners and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER II

THE FIELD STUDY

This study may be described as a field study which was focused on one particular case. The anthropological methods of direct observation and participation were utilized as part of a blend of field study techniques which McCall and Simmons call participant observation. They described this approach as one which:

> involves some amount of genuinely social interaction in the field with the subjects of the study, some direct observation or relevant events, some formal and a great deal of informal interviewing, some systematic counting, some collection of documents and artifacts, and open-endedness in the directions the study takes.[1]

Anthropologists, social scientists, and behavioral scientists have utilized field methodology and critiqued its usefulness.[2] All agree the researcher is a vital instrument in the collection of data. The role of the researcher has been described by Gold as being on a behavioral continuum ranging from the complete participant to the complete observer.[3] Lutz and Iannacconne[4] have stated that within the general classification of participant observation a researcher may take the role of participant as observer, observer as participant, and observer as non-participant. The roles utilized by the researcher in this study are described in this chapter.

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[1] George J. McCall and J. L. Simmons, "The Nature of Participant Observation," in Issues in Participant Observation, ed. George J. McCall and J. L. Simmons (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1969), p. 1.

[2] See Harry A. Wolcott, "An Ethnographic Approach to the Study of School Administration," Human Organization 29 (Summer 1970): 115-122; The Man in the Principal's Office (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973); Arthur J. Vidich, "Participant Observation and the Collection and Interpretation of Data," American Journal of Sociology 60 (January 1955): 354-360; Blanche Geer, "First Days in the Field: A Chronicle of Research in Progress," in Sociologists at Work, ed. Phillip E. Hammond (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964), pp. 322-343;

A case study is defined by Sax as "any relatively detailed description and analysis of a single person, event, institution, or community."[5] The decision to use a case study approach within a field study design was prompted by the need for an in-depth analysis of current school-community relations practices in an urban IGE school. This decision was supported by a recommendation of the National Evaluation Committee of the Wisconsin Research and Development Center to

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Morris G. Schwartz and Charlotte G. Schwartz, "Problems in Participant Observation," American Journal of Sociology 60 (January 1955): 343-354; Howard S. Becker and Blanche Geer, "Participant Observation and Interviewing: A Comparison," Human Organization 16 (Fall 1957): 28-32.

[3] Raymond L. Gold, "Roles in Sociological Field Observations," Social Forces 36 (March 1958): 217-223.

[4] Frank W. Lutz and Laurence Iannacconne, Understanding Educational Organizations (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1969), p. 112.

[5] Gilbert Sax, Empirical Foundations of Educational Research (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 288.

> place [more] emphasis on in-depth study or intensive comparative studies in a limited number of schools in preference to surveys and broad sampling techniques
>
> and
>
> place less reliance on questionnaires and standardized instruments and more on interview and observation techniques.[6]

This chapter is devoted to a discussion of the major processes or phases of a field study as outlined by Katz. These phases are (1) preliminary planning; (2) the scouting expedition, or the anthropological shortcut; (3) the research design; (4) the pretesting of research instruments and materials; (5) the full-scale field operation; and (6) the analysis of materials.[7]

The original proposal for the research reported in this dissertation called for case studies to be conducted in two to four urban IGE schools. Results of preliminary planning and the scouting expedition resulted in changing the focus of the study to one school. The events and processes which led to that decision are explained in the following pages.

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[6] National Evaluation Committee, 1974 Report of the National Evaluation Committee of the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning (Madison: Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, 1974), p. 11.

[7] Daniel Katz, "Field Studies," in Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences, ed. Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1953), pp. 65-95.

Preliminary Planning

Two basic criteria were used for selecting the research site. The first standard was related to the size of the district. Statistics available from the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare were utilized to identify those districts in the country with the largest enrollments.[8] The second criteria utilized was that the district must have one or more IGE schools. Records maintained by the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning (R & D Center) were examined to identify districts meeting this standard. Seven school districts qualifying for the study in terms of size also had IGE schools.

Two more processes were used to influence the choice of a research site. First, the above information was given to a panel of experts composed of R & D Center personnel. The experts were asked to recommend those districts which would qualify as research sites on the basis of previous experiences with the R & D Center. Three districts were eliminated due to earlier difficulties in obtaining access for research, or because of uncertainty about the actual status of IGE implementation in the district.

The final process involved a decision by the staff of the Home-School-Comminity Relations Project to limit the study to two schools in the same district which were at approximately the same stage of IGE implementation. This decision was based on the circumstance that city school districts qualifying for the study were located in such diverse parts of the country it appeared unfeasible in terms of time and money to attempt in-depth case studies in more than one locality. The Silver Lake School District was selected as the district for access on the basis of the number of schools listed as IGE schools, previous district willingness to participate in research studies, and researcher familiarity with urban education programs in the state in which the district was located.

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[8] Specific criteria related to the size of the district are not included here to protect the identity of the district and of the school which was finally selected for the research site.

Gaining Access to the District and Locating IGE Schools

Efforts to gain access to the Silver Lake School District began on August 5, 1976. The process was completed on September 20, 1976 when a letter of approval for the study was received by the researcher (See Appendix D). During the intervening time it was necessary to provide a letter outlining the proposed research study (see Appendix E), to file an official Research Request (see Appendix F) and a copy of the research proposal with the district, and to make several follow-up phone calls to various district offices.

The letter outlining the proposed research included a request for the names of four or five principals of schools meeting the stated criteria who might be interested in cooperating in the study. The researcher planned to contact the interested principals, arrange an interview time with them and their IIC members, and then select two schools at which to do the proposed study. When no word was forthcoming on this matter by September 27, 1976, a series of phone calls were initiated to determine the locus of responsibility for facilitation of the study. On October 7, 1976, the researcher was given the names of three principals whom she could contact for possible access to their schools.

Phone calls to the proposed sites revealed the recommended schools did not meet the research criteria. As a result, it was decided to circumvent the formal channels for access and contact the principal of a school known to have a program of Individually Guided Education. That person supplied the names of two other principals. An initial phone contact on October 11, 1976 with the latter two individuals suggested they would be amenable to having the research conducted in their schools. The principal who provided the contacts also expressed an interest in having the study done at her school.

The Scouting Expedition

Katz describes the scouting phase of a study as "the period of informal and relatively free investigation in which the field workers try to get as thorough an understanding of the important forces in the situation as they can."[9] The scouting phase of this study was planned to facilitate the selection of a school site, to familiarize the researcher with the social environment to be studied, and to informally explore the variables which might affect the proposed study. This was accomplished by:

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[9] Katz, p. 67.

1. a trip to Silver Lake by the researcher and one of the co-principal investigators of the Home-School-Community Relations Project to interview the principals of the schools under consideration; and
2. the researcher's attendance at a three-day Skills Conference at the selected school site.

Interviewing the Principals

Each of the principals of the schools under consideration was interviewed on October 13, 1976 with the following questions in mind:

1. How well does the school meet the criteria which was listed earlier in this chapter for an IGE school?
2. What is the nature of the neighborhood in which the school is located?
3. What is the attitude of the principal toward research?

Raven Street School

This school was at a pre-awareness stage in its development of an IGE program. Selected staff members were scheduled to attend an IGE Awareness Conference at Cassody School the next week. The school was on double sessions. The principal had implemented IGE programs in two other schools, but this was his first year at Raven Street School. Residents of the neighborhood were of predominantly Hispanic descent. Some spoke only Spanish. The principal felt the presence of the researcher in the school would not create any added stress. He was receptive to having the researcher in the school all of the time or in any combination of circumstances most useful for the study.

Tucker School

This school was also at a pre-awareness stage in its development of an IGE program. Selected staff members were scheduled to attend the same IGE Awareness Conference as that mentioned above. The neighborhood surrounding the school was composed of predominantly black residents. Living in this neighborhood represented an upwardly mobile move away from those areas settled by new black immigrants from the South. The principal was new to the school and to the role of principal. He was reluctantly willing to participate in the study. His concerns were related to the additional stress on a staff already having to adjust to a new principal and making the transition to a new instructional program.

Cassody School

This school had been an IGE school for five years and met the IGE criteria established by the researcher. The residents in the neighborhood surrounding the school were black and a large number of children came from families living in a nearby housing project. The principal indicated the school had good school-community relations. The principal was anxious to have the school be part of the research study and was amenable to any combination of activities which might facilitate the study.

Selecting the School

Using the criteria for interviewing principals, Cassody School was selected as the site for the proposed research. Both Raven School and Tucker Schools were not far enough along with IGE implementation for the schools to meet the IGE criteria. Some consideration was given to doing the study at these schools in an effort to describe the variables which affect awareness in the community when a school is making a changeover to IGE. This possibility was abandoned after talking with the principal of Tucker School and considering the added stress which might be caused to the schools by having a researcher in the building. In addition, it was felt the researcher's inability to speak Spanish would limit the research findings at Raven Street School.

Cassody School met all the criteria for an IGE school. The program there was implemented in 1971-72. The one criteria not met by the school was that the staff must show a willingness to become involved in an in-depth study of the school-community relations activities of the school. It was the researcher's intent to meet with the IIC as well as with the principal before selecting a school. This was not possible due to previously planned activities at the school. As a result, the researcher elected to take the word of the principal that the staff would welcome any research efforts which might lead to the improvement of the IGE program. This is not to say the staff was not willing to cooperate when the study was implemented. What it does mean is that the staff had no part in the decision to have the study conducted at Cassody School.

Silver Lake was chosen as the district for the proposed research study because it was thought to have ten IGE schools. That number was revised to four after the researcher's experience in trying to locate a site for the study. This number included the three schools described above and one other which came to the researcher's attention after the study was implemented. After interviewing the principals of the three schools known to the researcher, consideration was given to abandoning the Silver Lake district and seeking another district in which two schools at approximately the same stage of implementation might have been available. That alternative was ultimately disregarded because of the uncertainty of the state of IGE in other large districts. That is, it appeared that the IGE statistics available from the R & D Center were not accurate for Silver Lake. In addition, district personnel did not know which schools met the IGE criteria. The researcher had no way of knowing if these same conditions existed for the other large districts. Since approximately two months had passed after the first efforts were made to gain access to the district, it seemed appropriate to disregard the idea of studying two schools in the same district and to do an in-depth case study at Cassody School.

Attending a Conference at Cassody School

During the interview with Mrs. Boone, the principal of Cassody School, the researcher was invited to attend a three-day Skills Conference to be held at the school from October 18-20, 1976. The format of the conference included a keynote address by Dr. Herbert Klausmeier of the R & D Center; awareness sessions conducted by R & D Center consultants for teachers new to Cassody School and for teachers from other schools preparing to start an IGE program; and workshops focused on individualizing instruction and parent involvement conducted by Cassody School teachers and district consultants.

The decision to remain in Silver Lake to attend the conference was based upon the following assumptions: the researcher would facilitate formal entry into the school by her presence during this time; attendance at the conference would provide an introduction to various district personnel; and variables affecting school-community relations could be explored in an informal way. The following anecdotes serve to illustrate the positive values of attending the conference:

> In one small group session, two mothers and the school secretary got involved in a discussion of the value of home visits.
>
> In the same session, the nuisance nature of a store located near the school was discussed.
>
> While the researcher was sitting in the office late one afternoon an Anglo teacher, recently assigned to Cassody School, burst through the door in tears, announced she had failed to lock her car door, and was robbed of her purse by two black men when she stopped at a nearby stop light.
>
> In a session on parent participation, parents expressed their concern about the impending student desegregation plans in the district.
>
> The researcher roamed through the buildings freely and talked informally with teachers and other personnel.

> The researcher attended a session conducted by Dr. Klausmeier in which she was introduced to Region 1 and district personnel who were concerned with building a facilitative environment for IGE in Silver Lake.

It should also be noted there was at least one negative impact on the researcher's entry into the school as a result of her behavior at the conference:

> On the first day of the conference, a general session was held in the auditorium. The researcher sat with the R & D Center personnel and was introduced with them.
>
> The researcher arrived at the school and left the school with the R & D Center personnel.
>
> On the second day of the conference, while observing one of the IGE awareness sessions, the researcher was introduced by the leader as a former IGE teacher and unit leader and was assigned a discussion leader role with a small group of participants.

Because the emphasis of the conference was on the instructional aspects of IGE, affiliation with the consultants and participation in a session as a group leader probably contributed to giving the researcher an aura of "IGE expert from Wisconsin." This connotation was dysfunctional to the researcher role because it appeared to contribute to suspicions that the researcher's intent was to evaluate the instructional program rather than to learn about school-community relations activities.

Before leaving Cassody School on October 20, the principal and the researcher conferred about the objectives of the study and the role the researcher would play at the school. The principal received copies of all correspondence previously sent to district and Region

1 officials, and she was given a copy of the original research proposal. The role of the researcher was verbally described as being an observer "who will seek to be as inconspicuous as possible and will attempt not to interfere in the normal happenings at Cassody School." The researcher indicated she would attempt to interview all teachers and as many other staff members as possible. She also indicated she would like to observe any events in which parents might normally participate or which might eventually affect school-community relations.

The researcher indicated she would be responsible for scheduling interviews with parents and others in the community but she would appreciate the principal's assistance in scheduling staff members for interviews because of lack of knowledge about the school and its operating procedures. The principal indicated that, when possible, staff members would be relieved of their regular duties for one hour for an interview with the researcher. A schedule of interviews for November 1 and 2 was developed by the principal during the conference. The researcher was requested not to interview staff members while the principal was out of the building, at least at the beginning of the study. Since the principal was expected to be gone during the first week of the study, it was decided that the researcher would talk with parents and district personnel during these times or make observations as the situation dictated.

The Formulation of the Research Design

Strauss et al. state:

> The fieldworker usually does not enter the field with specific hypotheses and a predetermined research design. To be sure, he does have general problems in mind, as well as a theoretical framework that directs him to certain events in the field.[10]

Katz suggests:

> Even an exploratory study should be designed as to provide as definite information as possible for a set of research objectives.[11]

The original proposal for this study listed the following objectives:

1. To identify and describe the primary interaction patterns between the urban IGE school and its communities, as perceived by students, parents, other citizens, and urban IGE school personnel, in terms of the home-school-community relations operating functions of analysis, communication, involvement, and resolution
2. To identify and describe factors, as perceived by students, parents, other citizens, and urban IGE school personnel, which act in IGE schools as supports for or constraints against the home-school-community relations operating functions of analysis, communication, involvement and resolution

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[10] Anselm Strauss and others, Psychiatric Ideologies and Institutions (New York: Fress Press, 1964), p. 20.

[11] Katz, p. 75.

Five basic research questions were designed to guide the study:

1. What are the roles and functions of teachers, unit leaders/I & R units, and the principal/IIC in home-school-community relations in an urban school?
2. To what extent are the operating functions of analysis, communication, involvement, and resolution incorporated into the roles of IGE personnel?
3. What are the differences between students, parents, other citizens, and urban IGE school personnel in their perceptions of the extent to which the operating functions of analysis, communication, involvement, and resolution are practiced by teachers, unit leaders/I & R units and the principal/IIC?
4. What are the supports and constraints in an urban IGE school environment which affect the home-school-community relations operating functions of analysis, communication, involvement, and resolution?
5. What are the differences between parents, other citizens, and IGE school personnel in their perceptions of the supports and constraints affecting the home-school-community relations operating functions of analysis, communication, involvement, and resolution?

The following ancillary question was designed to be explored in relationship to the outcomes of the proposed study:

> In what ways and to what extent are organizational legitimacy, access, and trust related to analysis, communication, involvement, and resolution of conflict in an urban IGE school?

One of the characteristics of a field study is its "temporally developing"[12] nature. Even after the previously described scouting expedition, the early phase of the field work combined much general observation with the structure of formal interviews. Geer states:

> Although he spends a good part of his time just listening to informants or drifting along with a group to see what will happen, the observer also forms hypotheses during the field work period. These are called working hypotheses.[13]

It is these working hypotheses, hunches, or guesses which lead the observer to look at certain groups or to ask specific questions of informants. During this time, preconceived notions may be disregarded and the observer must attempt to ascertain the meaning of events and to place them in some initial order.

This researcher's attempt to understand information and events during the first few weeks of the study led to an early restatement of objectives and basic research questions. For example, emerging data suggested it would be difficult to describe supports for and constraints against school-community relations in the selected school and community without first describing the organizational and community environments. It was also felt this objective should be stated rather than implied.

Furthermore, the third and fifth basic questions, as originally stated, suggested interviews would reveal comparative responses from the various subpublics. The first few weeks in the field made it apparent to the researcher that this was not happening. The use of open ended formal interviews allowed the respondents to set their agendas based on the interviewer's opening statements and questions. Due to a time constraint explained later in this chapter, and a research situation in which interviews occurred over a period of three months, it was not possible to ask every respondent the same questions, under the same circumstances, and within a limited time frame as is usually accomplished by the use of a written questionnaire. Because the formal interview was not the only means of collecting data, it would be inappropriate to limit conclusions to the comparisons made in response to specific questions in the interview setting.

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[12] Strauss, p. 20.

[13] Geer, p. 332.

Finally, while the research for this study was being conducted, staff members of the Home-School-Community Relations Project at the R & D Center were using this researcher's early feedback, as well as that from another study, to evaluate the Home-School-Community Relations Model of Interaction Patterns and Processes and to develop the Programmatic Model for Home-School-Community Relations. Terminology changed and the concept of "participation" was added as an interaction pattern and a home-school-community relations process. The following statement of the objectives and basic questions of the study reflects those changes.

Objectives of the Study

1. To describe the organizational and community environments of an urban, inner-city IGE school

2. To describe the home-school-community relations program/activities of an urban, inner-city IGE school
3. To identify the supports for and the constraints against a home-school-community relations program in an urban, inner-city IGE school
4. To refine the R & D Center model for home-school-community relations

Basic Research Questions

1. What are the primary interaction patterns between urban, inner-city IGE school personnel and the child? the home? the community?
2. To what extent are the interaction processes of analysis, communication, involvement, participation, and resolution a part of the home-school-community relations program/activities in an urban, inner-city IGE school?
3. What are the organizational supports for and constraints against positive home-school-community relations in an urban, inner-city IGE school?
4. What are the community supports for and constraints against positive home-school-community relations activities in an urban, inner-city IGE school?
5. How can the organizational and community supports be maximized in the home-school-community relations program of an urban inner-city IGE school?
6. How can the organizational and community constraints be minimized in the home-school-community relations program of an urban, inner-city IGE school?

The ancillary question related to organizational legitimacy, access and trust remained the same.

The Pretesting of Research Instruments and Procedures

The week of November 1 - November 5, 1976, provided the first opportunity for the researcher to formally enter the social system of the school. Since the researcher was not in the school for a period of six school days (eight days total) after the first week, this period of time was regarded as an extension of the scouting expedition described in the previous section. Researcher activities during the week were directed toward conducting a modified field test of the interview protocol and assessing the legitimacy of the procedures to be be used during the rest of the study.

Field Testing the Interview Protocol

Katz states that pretesting (an instrument such as an interview protocol) has three purposes:

1. to develop the procedures for applying the research instrument so that, for example, the scale or schedule can be used effectively with respect to the time it takes to administer
2. to test the wording of questions so that they are suited to the understanding of the audience

3. to ensure, as far as is practical, that the specific question or observations are really getting at the variable for which a measure is needed [14]

The interview protocol in Appendix C was developed for the purpose of providing an open-ended format through which the researcher might obtain answers to the basic research questions listed in this chapter. The checklists of activities, supports and constraints, and forms of resolution were added to provide focus where necessary in the interview. The interview protocol was designed to cover the same basic concepts with all persons interviewed, leaving the interviewer the freedom to word the question appropriately for the various groups of people included in the study. Seven interviews were conducted during the field testing of the instrument. Representatives from each of the following subgroups were included: principals, teachers, resource teachers, coordinators, parents, office personnel, and regional consultants. The interviews were evaluated according to the criteria listed by Katz:

1. Procedures for using the instrument--Appointments for interviews were made for one hour. All took longer than anticipated with the longest being two and one-half hours in length. Subsequently, efforts were made by the researcher to shorten interviews by manipulating the wording of questions and by emphasizing the objectives of the research.

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[14] Katz, p. 83.

2. Suitable wording--Question four and five of the interview protocol did not cause any particular problems except as they related to the interaction process of analysis. The researcher determined that the common terminology used in the school for this process was "needs assessment." This term was used interchangeably in questions related to "analysis" after the first week.

The researcher noted what appeared to be ambiguousness in response to the word "community." When asked, respondents defined the word in the following three ways:

-- The neighborhood around Cassody School

-- All of Traceway from Civic Avenue to Heeple Street and from Lexington Avenue to Pullman Avenue

-- The entire black settlement in Silver Lake.

The researcher continued to use the word "community" but for interview purposes it was defined as the neighborhood around the school.

3. Appropriate variables being measured--Three steps were taken to evaluate the interviews according to this criteria. First, interview notes were recorded on cards according to the general constructs outlined in the basic research questions. The cards were sent to one of the co-principal investigators of the Home-School-Community Relations Project at the R & D Center. He checked the results of each interview against the basic questions and challenged unclear terms or constructs not probed by the interviewer. The cards and the staff member's notes were returned to the interviewer. A phone conference

was held to explore the causes of any discrepancies before the researcher's next formal interviews. Comments on the cards were used by the researcher to spot-check questionable information by asking the interviewees the same questions during informal interviews or by rephrasing the questions. In this way constructs were clarified, and the researcher was able to determine more appropriate wording for each of the subgroups on various questions in the interview protocol.

Because of the time conflict involved in using the entire interview protocol, it was decided after the initial week of use that the questions relating to legitimacy, access, and trust be dropped in favor of focusing on specific activities and other variables as dictated by the interview situation. The question related to access was not time-consuming but those related to legitimacy and trust required extended explanations from the interviewer. More important, it became obvious to the researcher that answers to these questions were more likely to come by implication than by direct inquiry.

Further revision of the formal interview protocol was necessary as the interviewer became more acquainted with the personnel at the school and the variables which existed in the neighborhood. For example, time did not permit the entire protocol to be used when it was apparent a respondent had a great deal of information about one of the variables under investigation. Instead, the interview was focused on that particular subject. When this happened, questions which may not have been discussed in the formal situation were often examined in informal situations.

Formal Observations

A formal observation was one at which the researcher's primary purpose was to observe and record ways in which parents and other citizens were involved in school-related events. The researcher had the opportunity to observe one such event during the week of November 1 - November 5. A parent education class was held at which six parents were present. The researcher sat at the table with the parents and found the seating arrangement was conducive to getting involved in the class discussion. In addition, after the session the leader of the workshop asked for advice on how it might have been improved. This test of the formal observation procedure led the researcher to modify her behavior in similar future situations so she was not mistaken for a participant.

Informal Observations and Informal Interviews

Informal observations were those which occurred as part of living in the school and community environments. Informal interviews involved verbal means of getting information outside of the formal interview. During the first week it became apparent it would be necessary to concentrate on this approach during every available opportunity to learn the norms and interaction patterns within the school as quickly as possible. It was found the cafeteria dining room was the most enlightening for observing staff interactions. Observations in the community were begun by driving through the area to note particular places where people were gathered and by just attempting to get a feel for the environment in which the research would be conducted.

The Collection of Documents

The principal and the secretary/clerks were informed that the researcher would like to obtain copies of all correspondence sent from the school to the home. In addition, the researcher requested that copies of memos which went to teachers also be made available so that she would be aware of all the things that were happening in the school. Other documents were to be requested as needed.

The researcher learned the filing system for documents and correspondence in the school did not always follow the pattern the principal thought existed. Everyone involved was very cooperative but after the first week, the researcher went away feeling that either she did not ask the right questions or she did not ask the right person. Field notes indicated difficulty was anticipated in the systematic use of this data collection procedure.

Recording the Data

Data from formal interviews were recorded in longhand during the interviews. At the end of the day, the interviewer transferred her notes to keysort cards according to the ideas discussed in an interview. A keysort card is a 5" x 8" file card edged with holes which may be punched according to a designated code. When a needle is passed through a series of identically coded cards, the punched cards can easily be separated from the others.

Data from informal interviews and observations were not recorded at the time of the incident. If the interviewer was alone for a few minutes it was possible to make some notes, but this frequently was not the case. During the researcher's first days in the field, a daily log of these activities was put on tape. Notes were taken during the formal observation of the parent education class. An anecdotal observation summary was typed later.

At the end of a day in the field, the researcher was faced with prioritizing her time to record the data collected during the day. In his ethnography, The Man in the Principal's Office, Wolcott states, "I never resumed my observations until the notes from the preceding observation were complete."[15] The researcher learned during this first week in the field that this was a luxury she would be unable to afford due to a variety of time constraints. The time needed for recording data plagued the researcher throughout the study.

The Full-Scale Field Operation

The researcher arrived in Silver Lake filled with anticipation and a sense of apprehension about the many unknown quantities which were to make up the full-scale field operation at Cassody School. In spite of her attendance at the Skills Conference in October, she knew few people at the school, had little knowledge of the school norms, and wondered if it was possible to meet the objectives of the study with the time and resources available. One consolation was the thought that five persons were scheduled for interviews on November 1, her first day at the school. There was security in knowing that by the end of the day she would know the people who had been interviewed and hopefully, the dynamics of the school would begin to make sense.

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[15] Wolcott, Principal's Office, p. 16.

When the researcher got to the school at 8:15 a.m. that first morning, she was greeted by the principal who said, "This is not really a very good day to start interviewing. There are too many things happening." Among the happenings was the absence of seven classroom teachers and the tardiness of most of their substitutes. To deal with this problem, the persons who had been scheduled to be interviewed were assigned to teach the classes until additional help arrived. This included the principal.

Disarmed by this bit of information, but still smiling, the researcher decided to go to the teachers' lounge for a cup of coffee. She was informed by the principal that there was no coffee in the teachers' lounge. "You'll have to go to the cafeteria." Hoping to meet some members of the staff who might be swapping last-minute stories before the final bell, the researcher ignored the normative cue given by the principal and proceeded to the teacher's lounge.

Instead of finding a place where people were gathered to socialize, the researcher found one teacher trying to duplicate worksheets on a machine which did not appear to be working. At a loss for what else to do, the researcher volunteered to duplicate the materials so the teacher could get to her class on time. The teacher left the room gratefully and the researcher stood alone to ponder her next move. With a little coaxing, the machine worked and the researcher had time to jot the following notes in her notebook:

> 8:30 a.m. Well, I'm here. Looks like I play today by ear. So far I've proved that I can still run a ditto machine and I know for sure that this is not the place to come to meet the teachers. At any rate, the school part of this study is under way -- not as planned, but under way!

The Role of the Researcher

To talk about the "school part" of the study versus the "out of school part" of the study may not be an entirely accurate dicotomy, but these two aspects of the research developed differently, and they dictated different roles for the researcher. The role of any researcher is closely related to the purposes of the study and to the developmental stages of the research itself.[16] In this study much more time was spent in the school than in its surrounding community so the extent of the participant observer role also varied with what Schwartz and Schwartz call the amount of affective or emotional participation between the observer and the observed.[17] That is, both consciously and unconsciously, the researcher became more involved with the feelings of those persons who were observed and with whom she interacted in the school setting than with those persons outside of the school.

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[16] Robert W. Janes, "A Note on Phases of the Community Role of the Participant-Observer," American Sociological Review 26 (June 1961), p. 488; Strauss, p. 21.

For the purposes of description, the role of participant-observer may be expanded to include both the "observer as participant" and the "participant as observer." The participant as an observer is described by Lutz and Iannacconne as one who, "by chance or intent, is entitled to a role in the system he intends to study."[18] For example, if a role as a consultant is available in a particular school and the researcher assumes that role, the person is acting as a participant as observer. One the other hand, the observer as a participant role is one in which "the observer does not occupy naturally a role that would exist whether or not he was doing the research."[19] Rather, the role is created specifically for the purpose of scientific research. The person who conducts formal interviews is an observer as a participant. People expect to be asked questions and they come to the observer with information they might not otherwise divulge because they know listening is part of the researcher's role.

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[17] Schwartz and Schwartz, pp. 98-100.

[18] Lutz and Iannacconne, p. 108.

[19] Ibid., p. 111.

In this study, the researcher entered the school and the community as an observer as a participant. She was equipped with an interview protocol and some working hypotheses as to whom to interview and what things to observe. For data dollection which occurred outside of the boundaries of the local school, this role remained constant. Affective participation was limited both by the purposes of the study and by the amount of time spent outside of the school. This was not the case within the school. Even though her purpose in the school was simply to collect data for the study, being in the environment for an extended period of time facilitated affective participation and prompted various members of the staff to perceive the function of the researcher differently. Through a rather rapid process of assimilation, a new role was created in which the researcher was seen as a combination of confidant ("I've never told anyone else this."), consultant ("I've written a set of books. Would you be willing to take a look at them and tell me what you think I should do next?"), and change agent ("I hope that all of your time and effort will be used to change some things around here."). The full impact of the newly assigned participant as observer role became clear to the researcher on December 15, 1976 when the following incident occurred:

> Parents were invited to the school to view a program of Christmas drama and song. The auditorium was converted into an informal theatre which would later

> double as a tea room where children, teachers, and parents would enjoy conversation and refreshments together. At the beginning of the program, the principal welcomed the parents and introduced members of the staff by asking them to stand. The researcher remained seated. At the end of the program, a coordinator made some closing remarks which included, "One person did not stand when Mrs. Boone introduced the staff members at the beginning of the program. I would like to introduce Miss Lois Bartels. She is here at our school from the University of Wisconsin to do research, but we consider her a member of our staff." Miss Lois Bartels stood!

Data Collection Procedures

The collection of data both in and outside of the school was guided by the objectives of the study and facilitated by procedures which are described as field study methods. Becker and Geer compare the results of two of these methods after defining them as follows:

> By participant observation we mean that method in which the observer participates in the daily life of the people under study, either openly in the role of researcher or covertly in some disguised role, observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people, over some length of time.
>
> We want, in this paper, to compare the results of such intensive field work with what might be regarded as the first step in the other direction along this continuum: the detailed and conversational interview (often referred to as the unstructured or undirected interview). In this kind of interview, the interviewer explores many facets of his interviewee's concerns, treating subjects as they come up in conversation, pursuing interesting leads, allowing his imagination and ingenuity full rein as he tries to develop new hypotheses and test them in the course of the interview.[20]

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[20] Becker and Geer, p. 28.

Used alone, Becker and Geer suggest that the interview limits the researcher to obtaining information which describes events that occurred elsewhere and at another time. In constrast, observation facilitates the acquisition of information about events happening in the presence of the researcher. It is suggested the latter method does not give rise to problems which characterize the interview such as:

> lack of opportunity to learn the native language, or the problem of the degree to which the interviewer really understands what is said to him;
>
> [inability to get] information about matters interviewees are unable or unwilling to talk about;
>
> getting unbiased information on matters people see through distorting lenses.[21]

The implication is that the interview is a one-time opportunity to obtain information which is open to misinterpretation because of the problems listed above. In this study, the formal interview and informal observational techniques were used in tandem to facilitate probing for and searching out those variables not emerging through the use of a single data collection approach. In the beginning of the study, the interviews served as mechanisms for identifying variables to be explored in a more informal way. As the study progressed, the interview provided an opportunity for in-depth probing of specific variables which could not be described by mere observation. Outside of the school, the interview consistently provided access to information not available to a nonparticipating observer. If, indeed, the information gained was limited by the problems cited by Becker and Geer, there was consolation in knowing that without changing the focus of the study, the interview was probably the only means of access to certain parents in the community and school officials in the Region 1 offices.

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[21] Ibid.

Data collection began on November 1, 1976 and culminated on January 31, 1977. The methods used included formal and informal interviews, formal and informal observations, participatory observations, and the collection of documents. Each of these procedures is described as part of the full-scale field operation.

Formal Interviews

The term "formal interviews" refers to those situations in which individuals met privately with the researcher for the purpose of answering questions related to home-school-community relations at Cassody School. The communication in a formal interview was essentially one-way, with the researcher behaving as an observing participant whose involvement was limited to active listening and probing.

Criteria for Selecting Respondents

It was apparent before going into the field that identifying the supports and constraints to school-community relations in an urban, inner-city IGE school would necessitate interviewing a sample of school employees as well as parents and other persons in the community surrounding the school. The number of interviews to be conducted and the way in which persons were selected was left open and was to be determined by the needs of the study.

The way in which the selection process evolved was influenced by position, race, tenure at the school, referral, and/or the time and access. These criteria may be explained as follows:

Position. One of the working hypotheses for this study was that all employees of a local school affect the school's relationship with parents and the community. Thus, it appeared necessary to select one or more individuals from each of the paid employee groups at the school. Other positions which it seemed necessary to sample were influentials and/or agency representatives in the community, parents, other citizens, volunteers and influentials in school-related organizations such as the Community Advisory Council or the Parent Teacher Association (PTA). As the study progressed, all of the categories were sampled, but there proved to be extensive overlapping of roles. In the case of other citizens, the interview was less effective as a means of access to information than was the observational mode. Students were added as a group to be sampled when their reactions to procedures related to the instructional program became important to the study.

Race and tenure at the school. Both of these variables became factors for selecting classroom teachers, resource teachers, and coordinators when the researcher learned that the make-up of the staff at the school had been very much affected by a mandatory staff desegregation order in the district. A working hypothesis suggested there would be a difference in knowledge about the school-community relations activities in the school based on the length of tenure in the school. It was thought this variable would also affect the kinds of things each teacher was doing. Race became a factor when a pattern began to develop in which new white teachers started resigning from the school. Three teachers who had been at the school the previous year were also interviewed to provide another perspective to the concept of tenure at the school.

Referral. Often when the researcher was probing for certain kinds of information, specific persons' names were suggested as resources. The researcher also asked for referrals of people who felt the same or differently from the person being interviewed. Many of the names given overlapped with other criteria for interviewing.

Time and access. There were a few people whom the researcher wished to interview formally who simply were unavailable to her. Talking with citizens in the school neighborhood required an informal approach because of the unavailability of records to assist in randomly identifying persons in a transient neighborhood. In a few cases, persons on the school staff who did not wish to be interviewed were able to use the excuse of lack of time during the working day as a means of avoiding the formal interview.

Using positional titles for classification purposes, the following table lists the number of persons who were formally interviewed and where known, the size of the population from which the sample was drawn.

TABLE 3

FORMAL INTERVIEW SAMPLE

POSITION	POPULATION	SAMPLE
Cassody School Employees		
Principal	1	1
Coordinators	4	4
Resource Teachers	4	4
Classroom Teachers	26	24
Auxilliary Services Staff	7	3
Clerical Staff	4	3
Custodial Staff	5	1
Cafeteria Staff	7	1
Aides (all categories)	26	10
(Parent of child in school)	(16)	(5)
(Former parent)	(3)	(3)
(Grandparent)	(2)	(2)
(Other)	(5)	(-)
Other School District Employees		
Former teachers (1975-1976)	18	3
Consultants		3
Parents (not employed by school)		11
Agency Representatives		8
Children	518	13
TOTAL		89

Interview procedures. The interview protocol in Appendix G provided the guidelines for questions asked during the interview and the probes that followed. The precise wording of the questions varied with the position of the person being interviewed.

All employees of Cassody School were interviewed at the school. All except seven were interviewed during school hours. The remainder were interviewed during the lunch hour, before school, or after school. The majority of the interviews were held in one of two conference rooms near the main office. Several were held in the cafeteria dining room and three were held in classrooms. The interviews ranged in length from thirty minutes to two and one-half hours. The average length of the formal interviews was one hour.

A list of persons to be interviewed on the researcher's first two days in the field was prepared by the principal. The only restriction that was placed on the interviewer was that formal interviews, requiring school time, not be conducted while the principal was away from the school during the first few weeks of the study.

As indicated elsewhere, the number of teacher absences on November 1, 1976 prevented the researcher from interviewing the people scheduled for that morning. Two people were interviewed in the afternoon of the first day in the field. On the second day, three of the five persons scheduled were interviewed. The other two were unable to keep their appointments because of time conflicts. On the third and fourth days, the researcher rescheduled those people who had not kept previous appointments.

The researcher did not return to the school for the purpose of interviewing until several days later. Then she was given a schedule of people to be interviewed during the next six days. The schedule had been prepared by one of the coordinators and distributed to the teachers. This schedule proved to be as unworkable as the one which was prepared previously. Some teachers were absent when they were supposed to be interviewed. In two situations, there was no one available to "cover" the teacher's class during the time of the interview. Previous commitments by the researcher were not taken into consideration. Changes in the distributed schedule were passed along by word of mouth. In some cases, teachers were not informed of the changes and two people appeared at one time to be interviewed. For the first three days, an attempt was made to follow the printed schedule. After that the researcher was again away from the school for several days, and when she returned there was no printed schedule. Nothing was said about its absence by either the researcher, the coordinator, or the principal. The researcher simply resumed her interviews by approaching people whom she thought might be able to work an interview into their schedule. Appointments were made to see them on that day or when they were available. This then became the pattern. Usually a person was asked a day in advance by the researcher if it was possible to arrange for someone to watch his or her class or group for an hour the next day. If the person desired an interview outside of school time, every effort was made to grant the request. Some appointments were made a week in advance, but this was not typical. There were frequent changes in daily schedules so flexibility was a key factor in all data collecting processes.

All persons who were not employed at Cassody School were sent letters of introduction (see Appendix H) before being contacted by the researcher to set up an interview appointment. These persons were given a choice of coming to the school for the interview or of having the researcher go to their homes or places of business. Six parents were interviewed in their homes; all agency representatives were interviewed in their offices; two former teachers were interviewed at home; and one consultant was interviewed in his office. All other interviews were held at the school. Interviews with children were semiformal and were held on playground benches, in the office, or in classrooms. After the interviews, all adults were sent personal thank-you letters (see Appendix I). Some persons were contacted after the interview to verify the perceptions of the researcher and to clarify incomplete information.

Recording interview data. Data recording procedures for the formal interview are described earlier in this chapter. In addition to the use of keysort cards for recording ideas, interviews which were held in people's homes were recorded as narrative summaries. One such summary of a parent interview is included in Appendix J.

Informal Interviews

Informal interviews differed from formal interviews in the way they were conducted. No appointments were made, the researcher did not take notes during the discussion, and the respondent may or may not have been aware that she or he was being interviewed. Informal interviews differed from social conversation in that the interviewer had a hidden agenda (the interview protocol) and the "conversation" was aimed at getting information applicable to the research. Informal interviews with school employees were often conducted in the cafeteria dining room, sometimes in the hallway, or on the playground. In the case of the principal, a great deal of information was gained in this manner at anytime and in any place when she and the researcher had a few minutes together.

Informal interviews with parents and other citizens were an important part of the research methodology because the conversational setting lacked the threat associated with a formal interview. This was the approach used to obtain information from people to whom the researcher could not gain access in a more formal way--citizens in the community, parents who did not normally come to school, and persons with whom the researcher was unable to schedule formal appointments.

Semiformal Interviews

The interviews held with thirteen randomly selected children at Cassody School were more structured than simply talking informally. The children were asked if they would be willing to answer some questions concerning their feelings about the school. The interviewer took notes but the setting was not formal. That is, both parties may have been sitting on the floor in the hall or talking on a playground bench or in a corner in a classroom where they could be alone. The interviews ranged from five to fifteen minutes in length.

Formal Observations

Formal observations have been described in this chapter as those events at which the researcher's primary purpose was to observe and record the ways in which parents and other citizens were involved in school-related activities. Generally, the researcher behaved as an observer who took notes. Her participation was limited to the usual social courtesies.

The following is an annotated list of scheduled event at which the researcher participated as a formal observer:

Date	Event
October 18-20, 1976	Conference--"Individually Guided Education--Developing Skills for Individualized Instruction"--This conference involved teachers from Cassody School and other schools in Region 1 who were interested in individualized instruction. Parents from Cassody School were paid to attend the workshop sessions.
Nov. 3, Dec. 1, Dec. 8, 1976 Jan. 19, 1977	Parent Education Classes--Classes were conducted weekly to meet needs identified by parents as areas of concern.
Nov. 16, 23, 30, 1976 Jan. 4, 1977	Staff Meetings and/or Staff Development Meetings--These meetings were held weekly. Parents were welcome to attend. Aides who worked six hours were expected to attend.
Nov. 22, 1976	Region 1 Education Conference--This was a day-long meeting for parents from all of the schools in Region 1. Three parents and one teacher from Cassody School attened.
Nov. 24, 1976	Thanksgiving Program--Parents were invited to this program where primary children from two classrooms sang songs, recited poetry, and had a Thanksgiving feast.
Dec. 3, 1976	Instructional Improvement Committee Meeting--A parent from the School Advisory Committee was on the committee.

Date	Event
Dec. 10, 1976	Drill Team Assembly--A school-wide assembly was held on the playground at which the girls' drill team performed. Parents of drill team members were invited to attend.
	Parent Tea--Parents of ten children who were identified as gifted were invited to talk with the teacher and ask questions about the gifted children's program.
Dec. 15, 1976	Christmas Program--Children in the drama club acted out The Night Before Christmas. Children in the chorus sang carols. Parents of the children who participated were invited to attend.
Dec. 16, 1976	Luncheon-Dinner--Mothers of children on the drill team served a meal to teachers and honored the drill team instructor.
Jan. 4, 1977	Parent R/E Team--Two parents visited classrooms in the school as members of the local Research and Evaluation team to evaluate the instructional program.
Jan. 20, 1977	Region 1 Advisory Council Meeting--This is an Advisory Council made up of representatives from local Advisory Councils in Region 1. The reresearcher attended with the chairperson of the Cassody School Council and representatives from two other schools.
Jan. 25, 1977	Advisory Council Meeting--This group of parents and citizens serves in an advisory capacity to the principal at Cassody School. Eighteen persons attended.

Informal Observations

All of the researcher's time not spent doing something else was spent in informal observations. The technique involved a high level of awareness at all times toward what was being seen and heard. Generally, these observations were "action oriented"; that is, they did not involve watching a scheduled event nor did they allow for an opportunity to take notes during the time of the observation. Most were unplanned in the sense that they simply involved living in the environment of the school and the community. Often informal interviews and informal observations were used as complimentary techniques.

Participant Observations

The degree to which the researcher became an actor in the activity being observed may have affected the perceptual lens through which the observation was made. It may also have provided access to information not available in any other way. The observations cited in this category represent situations in which a role was assumed by or assigned to the researcher as an actual participant in the community or at the school.

Date	Situation
Nov. 24, 1976	The researcher volunteered to assist two classroom teachers for part of a morning. The purpose was to observe how parent volunteers and aides worked in the classroom.
Dec. 4, 1976	A letter had been sent home to parents inviting them to participate in a school beautification effort by helping to paint various equipment

Date	Situation
	and parts of the outside of the building. By 10:00 a.m. on this Saturday morning, four staff members and no parents had arrived to paint. The researcher planned to observe. Since there were five different colors of paint, the researcher was recruited to be the fifth painter. She was later joined by a parent so the remainder of the time was spent painting and talking with that parent.
Dec. 5, 1976	The researcher attended Sunday services at a local church.
Jan. 21, 1977	The researcher assisted the Student Council in a problem-solving session in response to a request from a Student Council member, on recommendation of the principal.
Jan. 31, 1977	The researcher, on request of the principal, conducted a human relations workshop for approximately sixty-five parents, teachers, and aides.

The Collection of Documents

After the first two weeks in the school, a mailbox was assigned to the researcher, and she received most of the principal's weekly bulletins in this manner. The collection of other written communications was not accomplished systematically. When it became apparent that this was a problem, the researcher made it a habit to look under one of the counters in the office each day to see if any new letters had been added to an accumulation of paper which found its way to that shelf. Several copies of letters to parents were picked up in classrooms. In two cases, parents gave the researcher copies of documents that had been received from the school.

The principal was very cooperative about providing the researcher with official documents related to school-community relations activities. Numerous records were copied when duplicates were not available. The biggest problem seemed to be one of knowing which people to ask for the appropriate information.

Establishing and Maintaining Trust and Legitimacy in the Field

The researcher gained access to Cassody School and its community through the formal, legitimating channels of the school district and through the formal sanction of the principal. The staff of Cassody School was not involved in the decision to have the research conducted at their school, nor were the parents and others in the community consulted about their willingness to participate. In addition to these circumstances, the researcher was a white female, attempting to enter the social system of a school which served all black children from predominantly low socioeconomic families. The majority of the employees at the school were black, ranging from persons who were supplementing their welfare incomes to middle and upper middle class professionals having a variety of educational credentials. The school district itself was in a state of disequilibrium due to a current mandatory teacher desegregation effort and a court order to desegregate children the next year. This stress was apparent at Cassody School with the assignment of eight white teachers to a staff which had formerly been predominantly black and stable. These conditions were complicated by what appeared to be a lack of commitment by many of those who were interviewed to the way in which the instructional program was managed.

Considering these factors, the researcher was assimilated into the school environment rather rapidly, though not without problems. Relying only on a letter sent by the principal to the staff (see Appendix K) without benefit of an opportunity to speak to the group as a whole, the researcher found it necessary to use the formal interview as an introductory technique as well as a data gathering procedure.[22] After the interview, the researcher, with few exceptions, sensed a different kind of relationship with the respondents. Greetings were warmer, conversations were less superficial, and even persons who were reluctant during the interview would come to the researcher with information "that I thought might be helpful to you." Comments such as, "It is so good to be able to talk to someone about this," "Thank-you for listening to me," and "I needed to tell someone these things," suggested that the act of listening without judging created trust for future less formal interactions.

Formal interviewing is a time-consuming process so it was not possible to depend upon this technique as the only way of building rapport and trust. A concerted effort was made to engage in less formal one-to-one interactions at every available opportunity. The most accessable way to the largest number of people seemed to be through socializing in the cafeteria dining room. Many of the staff members came to the dining room at some time during the day, either for a recess break or during the staggered lunch periods. By being in the cafeteria dining room during these times, it was possible for the researcher to talk with various groups of people--aides, custodians, office personnel, cooks, primary teachers, intermediate teachers, parent volunteers, coordinators, and the principal. In this way, individuals and groups were able to get to know the researcher as a person, and an opportunity was also provided for the researcher to note the norms and social interactions of those being observed.

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[22] The reader will note two idiosyncrasies of the letter in Appendix K. First, the reference in paragraph four to student achievement may have contributed to an initial suspicion that the researcher was at the school to assess the instructional program. Second, a typographical error in paragraph five resulted in an unclear identity for the researcher--was she Bowles or Bartels?

Awareness of organizational norms and informal communication patterns plus the time to demonstrate consistent, nonevaluative behavior contributed to the establishment and maintenance of trust between the researcher and the people at the school. However, the researcher was frequently "tested" concerning her opinions about the program with comments such as "Is this the way IGE is done in Wisconsin?" or "Are you here to help us improve our program?" Affiliation with the R & D Center added legitimacy to the role of the researcher, but it also seemed to contribute to the suspicion that the researcher was more interested in the instructional program than in the school-community relations activities at the school. To prevent reinforcing this concern the researcher, until January 4, avoided classroom observations which might have been construed as an evaluation of the instruction program. On that date, the following incident occurred:

> The researcher accompanied two parents and the principal on a tour through the classrooms. The parents were part of a team which was evaluating the instructional program at the school. The researcher was reluctant to be a part of this group, but the event had been scheduled and cancelled twice previously so there was a particular interest in how it would be managed this time. As part of her observations, the researcher recorded the behavior of the parents--what they looked at, to whom they spoke, and what they said. At the same time, she moved around the classrooms and observed what the students were doing. No comments were recorded about the instructional program or the personnel except to note if there was an aide or a parent volunteer in the rooms.
>
> After the classroom observations, the researcher observed a meeting between the principal and one of the parents during which they discussed their findings from the room visits.
>
> The next afternoon when the researcher returned to the school after attending a meeting with the principal and two representatives from the R & D Center, she was approached by an informant who told her that "people" were talking in the dining room at noon about how much time the researcher spent with the principal. One person (no name) was reported as saying that she was sorry that she had told the researcher all the things that she did. The implication was that the information given to the researcher might not be kept confidential.

Had this incident occurred earlier in the research, there may have been little the researcher could do to reestablish trust in her integrity. In this case, prolonged observation and inquiry made it apparent that certain individuals and groups communicated with each other almost exclusively and that certain other individuals acted as "communication links" by carrying information from group to group. These observations facilitated the gathering of data, but they also provided a means for the researcher to "get the word out" regarding her personal function and status at the school. The preceding incident was dealt with in the following manner:

> While no mention was made by the informant of the researcher's participation in the evaluation tour with the parents, the researcher made it a point to explain why she was with the parents and what she was writing as she moved through the rooms. In addition, she explained the functional need for keeping communications with the principal open and she provided examples of some of the things that the researcher and the principal might talk about other than personnel and the content of their interviews.
>
> After completing a scheduled interview, the researcher sought out one of the persons whom she had identified as a "communication link" and whom she thought might have been in the dining room when the previously reported incident occurred. She related the story told by the first (unnamed) informant and "wondered" what she should do about the situation. Her role with the parent evaluation team was again explained and her relationship with the principal was described. The two talked at length about the difficulty of maintaining trust. The researcher was advised by this informant to "avoid sitting with the principal in the cafeteria--move around and sit with other people, and don't always be asking questions. Talk about the snow and cold in Wisconsin and just socialize." At the end of the conversation, the person said, "I'll take care of this for you. Don't worry. I'll get the word out."

Apparently the word got out because there was no noticeable mistrust between the researcher and persons who were interviewed later. At the same time, the word got to the researcher and she paid more attention to her "cafeteria behavior" for the rest of her stay at the school.

Building trust and rapport with individuals in the school was influenced by an on-going process of personal legitimation. Before beginning the study, the researcher was advised to "play down" her role as a doctoral candidate. The introductory communication from the principal to the staff made no mention of this status and during the pretesting of the interview protocol, the researcher did not mention this fact. The researcher's affiliation with the R & D Center was emphasized and seemed to provide the professional legitimation necessary for asking questions in the school.

On the researcher's second day in the field, she was having coffee in the dining room and was asked by a teacher if this research was for a doctoral dissertation. The experience stands out in the researcher's mind because of the way the question was asked and the intonation which implied there was something wrong with doing a study for this purpose. A rather direct answer was given at the time, and the experience provided the basis for integrating personal and organizational purposes into one legitimate answer should the question arise again. The researcher elected not to talk about her doctoral status with everyone as a matter of course. The subject was discussed with those informants who served as "communication links" and with anyone who asked a direct question about it. In retrospect, it is felt the dissertation research should have been discussed openly at the beginning of the study because the subject was nominated for discussion by teachers through the final days in the field.

Along with an implied suspicion in the school of doctoral research, the legitimacy of a white researcher collecting data for a doctoral dissertation in a black neighborhood was overtly questioned by a black man who represented a community agency. The exchange went something like this:

> Are you getting your Ph.D. out of this?
>
> Yes, the data will be used for a report from the Wisconsin Research and Development Center and for my dissertation.
>
> Oh, so you're just usin' the black folks for your own advantage, eh?

Despite the fact this was the only overt discrimination experienced by the researcher, there were other indications that race and/or socioeconomic differences may have influenced data collection in the community. This raises another issue in establishing and maintaining personal legitimacy.

The researcher informed respondents in the school and in the community, where feasible, that she had previously worked in inner-city schools in the state which served primarily black clients of low socioeconomic status. This experience added legitimacy to the researcher's role in two ways. First, it was obvious she understood the professional language of the school and the problems which were being dealt with on a day-to-day basis. Secondly, it suggested she was familiar with the norms and culture of a community such as the one served by this school. Through observation people at the school learned that the researcher was not reluctant to ask questions if words and behaviors did not make sense to her. They saw she could run a ditto machine and handle a paint brush, and she would go to people's homes or sit and talk with anyone regardless of their place in the organizational hierarchy. The fact that her behavior was considered legitimate and acceptable can be concluded from remarks like the following:

> From an interview: One way to relate to people is to get out among them instead of letting them come to you. You probably know more about the people in this community than some of use who have been around for 20 years.
>
> Teacher on the playground: I really admire what you're doin'. Next to __________ this is probably the roughest black neighborhood in the country and here you are walkin' around talkin' to parents and really gettin' involved.
>
> Parent in the cafeteria (who "kept track" of the researcher's activities):
> -- Mrs. H.: Ms. Bartels, are you going over to see Mr. James now?
> -- Ms. Bartels: Yes, I'm going to walk over to his store.
> -- Mrs. H.: Must be yous talked to everyone around here by now.

People who were contacted for interviews in the community did not have the same opportunity to know the researcher as did the people in the school. In most cases, they received a letter of introduction followed by a phone call to arrange for the interview, and then they experienced the interview itself. Unless they knew someone at the school whom they could ask about the researcher, and some did, they were confronted by a very middle-class looking white female who spoke standard English and carried a yellow pad of paper on which to record responses to her interview questions. Thus, the first few minutes of the interview were crucial to establishing trust and legitimacy. In some cases, it took almost the whole interview time before the respondent visably relaxed and in a few cases, a sense of suspicion pervaded the entire interview.

In those cases where the interviewer sensed a lack of trust on the part of the respondent, the manifest behaviors differed depending on socioeconomic level. In two cases other than the one already cited, the respondents were black males who represented agencies or organizations. They revealed their suspicion of the researcher by talking extensively about themselves and their accomplishments, and then asking if the researcher was working on her doctoral dissertation. Both indicated they had been interviewed by other white researchers and had either been misquoted or misinterpreted. In one of these cases, where the respondent seemed unwilling to answer any but the most basic questions, considerable time was spent talking casually outside of his office after the interview about subjects most helpful to the data collection.

In two other situations where the researcher went to parents' homes to conduct the interview, it was obvious the parents were very uncomfortable with the interviewer. One mother stood the entire time and answered only with "yes" and "no" responses. In another case, the mother sat, but the interview took less than ten minutes. Both of these situations were probably examples of "accommodation" behaviors in which the black person says what she thinks the white interviewer wants to hear.[23] Bullock describes the prevailing suspicion in the black ghetto which prompts such behavior as follows:

> The ghetto resident is suspicious of strangers wearing coats and ties, carrying notebooks, and asking personal questions. If the interview contains questions relating to welfare, unemployment compensation, school attendance, or anything that might possibly involve the law or bureaucratic regulations, the suspicion is heightened. The normal assumption is that the stranger seeks information for ulterior purposes and that he is probably a policeman, welfare investigator, truant officer, dope peddlar, politician, or the like. In many cases, the interviewer will not get beyond the front doorstep; the resident will be scurrying out the back door.[24]

Limitations of the Study

Establishing and maintaining trust and personal legitimacy were prerequisites to whatever success was achieved in obtaining reliable and valid information from respondents at Cassody School and in its neighborhood community. Understanding that both were achieved not as a part of the researcher's role, but as a function of her previous experiences, personality characteristics, and personal/professional levels of awareness, gives meaning to Wolcott's statement of the limitations of participant-observer methodology:

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[23] Thelma Duvinage, "Accommodation Attitudes of Negroes to White Caseworkers and Their Influence on Casework," Smith College Studies in Social Work 9 (March 1939), p. 264.

[24] Paul Bullock, Watts: The Aftermath (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1969), p. 6.

> The participant-observer approach is a high risk-low yield adventure. It is high risk because unless the fieldwork is eventually translated into a significant, readable (and read) monograph, the only possible gain is in the experiential repertoire of the researcher himself. It is low yield because of the great investiment in time and personal effort to obtain basic and often rather commonplace data. The researcher who adopts this approach must face the problems common to participant-observation in any setting, especially including a confrontation with oneself as a research instrument.[25]

In addition to relying on the researcher as a key instrument in the collection of data, this research represents a case study of a single IGE school, located in a low income, black neighborhood in a large, urban school district. To the extent that this school and neighborhood represent a unique environment which is unlike that of other schools and neighborhoods, the results of this study cannot be generalized.

A final limitation is the difficulty of preparing a parsimonious report of the research data and findings. Perhaps this is what Wolcott means when he refers to a "readable monograph."[26] Without statistical data from which to draw conclusions, narrative reporting requires many paragraphs of descriptive words to provide the reader with a clear picture of the research phenomenon. This requires a delicate balancing act by the writer to limit verbosity and still maintain an accurate research perspective.

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[25] Wolcott, An Ethnographic Approach, p. 121.

[26] Ibid.

Analysis of Materials

McCall and Simmons state that the end result of participant observation is "an analytic description of a complex social organization." They define an analytic description as one which:

> 1. employs the concepts, propositions, and empirical generalizations of a body of scientific theory as the basic guides in analysis and reporting;
> 2. employs thorough and systematic collection, classification, and reporting of facts; and
> 3. generates new empirical generalizations (and perhaps concepts and propositions as well) based on these data.[27]

The conceptual framework used to organize, describe, and interpret the data obtained in this study is based on the Programmatic Model for Home-School-Community Relations.[28] Data were coded according to programmatic elements and primary interaction processes. Propositions related to inner-city communities and urban schools were extracted from the literature to provide a second dimension for data collection, coding, and interpretation. The analysis of data was an ongoing process which yielded working hypotheses to provide direction for further data collection.

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[27] McCall and Simmons, "Participant Observation," p. 3.

[28] See pages 17-20, Chapter I.

The final analysis of all the data in this study resulted in the descriptive narrative found in this document. Ethical considerations in the reporting of the data required that the names of the district, the school, and all participants be changed to protect their anonymity.

Chapter Summary

This chapter describes the field methodologies used in this study. The description was organized around six major phases of a field study as outlined by Katz.[29]

The first phase of the study involved preliminary planning. It was during this stage that the school district in which the research would be conducted was identified, and steps were taken to gain access to the district through formal and informal channels. Beginning attempts were also made to identify a local school site for the research. This phase of the study took approximately two months.

The second phase involved what Katz called the scouting expedition. This part of the study was conducted in the City of Silver Lake. It involved interviewing three principals of schools in the Silver Lake School District, selecting the local school at which the research would be conducted, and attending a Skills Conference at that school. These activities took approximately one week.

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[29] Katz, pp. 65-95.

Katz identifies the third phase of the field study as the formulation of the research design. This process was begun as part of the preliminary planning and continued throughout the course of the study. Original objectives and basic research questions were changed to deal with the emerging data and working hypotheses which guided the day-to-day research.

The fourth stage of the field study involved the pretesting of research instruments and procedures. This process occurred during a period of one week and involved field testing the interview protocol for appropriate procedures, suitable wording, and appropriate variables. Other procedures, including techniques for recording the data, were described in this section of the chapter.

The full-scale field operation was described as the fifth stage of the study. The role of the researcher, details of data collection procedures, the problems of maintaining trust and legitimacy in the field, and limitations of the study were discussed in this section. The full-scale field operation took approximately three months.

The final phase of the field study is the analysis of materials. This process involved the use of a conceptual framework for school-community relations and an exploration of propositions related to urban schools. Analysis was an on-going process which has culminated in this dissertation. The final analysis phase of the study took approximately nine months. A total of fifteen months was spent on all phases of the study.

CHAPTER III

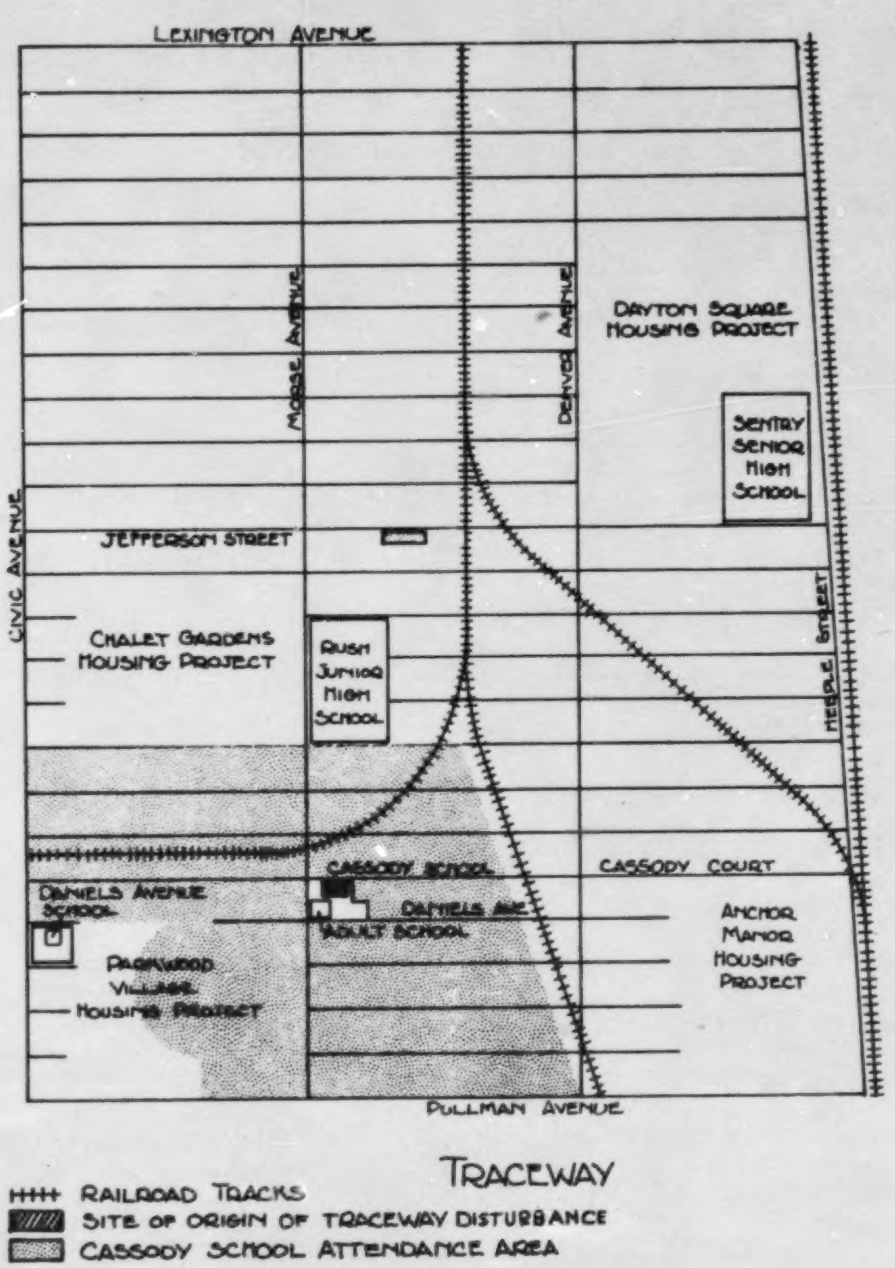
PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA: THE COMMUNITY AND THE SCHOOL

Cassody School is an elementary school in the large urban City of Silver Lake. The city is made up of a series of distinct communities, each technically a "neighborhood" within Silver Lake. Cassody School is located in that part of the city which is known as Traceway. The neighborhood of Traceway is made up of approximately two and one-half miles of territory in the south-central part of the city. It is bordered by Heeple Street on the east, Civic Avenue on the west, Pullman Avenue on the south, and Lexington Avenue on the north (see Map 1). The history of the development of Traceway, conditions in the community today, and an illustration of the interface between school and community is described in this chapter.

The History of the Community

One of the early settlers in the city of Silver Lake was Gibbon R. Trace. After his death, part of his land was purchased by the Ono See Railroad Company. The remainder of the land was subdivided, and the growing settlement became unofficially known as Traceway. Sometime before the First World War the southern edge of Traceway, where Cassody School is located, became a black ghetto. It was then known locally as "The Hollow" and served as a port of entry for blacks who were

MAP 1


N
LEXINGTON AVENUE
MORSE AVENUE
DENVER AVENUE
DAYTON SQUARE HOUSING PROJECT
SENTRY SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
CIVIC AVENUE
JEFFERSON STREET
CHALET GARDENS HOUSING PROJECT
RUSH JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
MERBLE STREET
CASSODY SCHOOL
CASSODY COURT
DANIELS AVENUE SCHOOL
DANIELS AVE
ADULT SCHOOL
PARKWOOD VILLAGE HOUSING PROJECT
ANCHOR MANOR HOUSING PROJECT
PULLMAN AVENUE
TRACEWAY
HHH RAILROAD TRACKS
▨ SITE OF ORIGIN OF TRACEWAY DISTURBANCE
▒ CASSODY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AREA

immigrating from the South. Historical documentation of immigration into the area suggests that the first wave of black immigrants came when the great transcontinental railway lines established important terminals in Silver Lake and other growing communities. The first immigrants were the railroad men, Pullman porters, and dining car waiters, who brought their families from the South. When friends heard of the attractive working conditions, they followed. Those who came to Silver Lake settled in the part of Traceway which was called "The Hollow."

Traceway was incorporated as a separate city in 1907. In 1926 Traceway was annexed to the city of Silver Lake, but it did not lose its identity as a community. It was distinguished from other communities in the big city because it contained a high proportion of blacks, though they were still a minority. Except for a small middle-class black settlement along the western edge of Civic Avenue, blacks in Silver Lake were found only in Traceway, particularly in the southern part of the community below Jefferson Street.

During World War II, immigration into Silver Lake was accelerated by the promise of jobs related to the war industry. Many of the immigrants were blacks who encountered a critical housing shortage in the segregated city of Silver Lake. "Tens of thousands" moved into an area near the center of the city which was vacated by other minority residents. The remaining thousands had to find homes in the traditionally segregated area around Civic Avenue and in the Traceway ghetto. Some of those who had decent jobs bought or built pleasant homes in the western part of Traceway below Jefferson Street. However, many others moved into absentee-owned, substandard housing. Several hundred other families moved into the public housing projects that were built by the federal government in the Traceway area. The housing projects were supposed to be interracial. Instead, they provided homes primarily for blacks, a phenomenon which contributed to the ghettoization of Traceway. Three projects, Chalet Gardens, Dayton Square, and Anchor Manor were built during the war. A fourth, the Parkwood Village Housing Project, was completed in 1955.[1]

The Traceway of the 1940's is described by a current resident who moved to the area when he was in junior high school, moved away after marriage, and is now back living in the old family home. He said:

> When my family first moved here, Traceway was a sleepy town. There were mostly individual homeowners with small houses. About 60 percent of the people were black, 35 percent were Mexican-Americans, and the rest were white. The Mexicans started to move east in the late 1940's. They were replaced by black people from the South. Probably many of the black men were in this area when whey were in the service and they moved their families here when they were discharged. A lot came and worked in the defense plants. My family came from Mississippi and Tennessee. We had friends to follow us because they heard about the job opportunities and the weather.

He went on to say:

> When we were coming up we didn't lock the doors and we left our bicycles outside. Many people had chickens and other animals in their yards. My parents had a yard full

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[1] Residents of Traceway seldom used the full names of the housing projects in conversation. The most common references were to "The Project," or to the titles such as "Parkwood Village."

> of chickens. We were separated from the whites to the west by a bayou and vacant fields which were used for truck gardens.

By 1946, blacks represented almost two-thirds of the population of Traceway. The effects of the growing population and the steadily deteriorating conditions of the area were documented in a 1947 City Planning Commission report:

> In some areas, a great number of twenty-five foot lots stand vacant, while in others six or more dwellings are crowded into a similar parcel. Recreational facilities in certain sections are few in number and limited in area. Schools are located in places where the maximum walking distance, rather than the minimum, is required of a great number of children. . . Some of the worst interracial conflicts occurring during the past decade were in this area. The low rental pattern, the low assessed value of property, the high disease and delinquency rates, all reflect the blighted character of the district.

By the end of the 1950's a third of the population of Traceway lived in public housing. The actual population density in the Projects exceeded the original projections. Large families were often crammed into relatively small quarters and the streets and yards were filled with children. Rush Junior High School was built to house the increased number of students.

A long-time resident of the Cassody School community told the following story:

> My mother moved to Traceway in 1945. I went to Cassody School then. When I got ready to go to junior high school, the government was fixin' to build the projects and they bought up the houses that were there where Parkwood Village is now. My friends were all moving to the west side so I rode the bus across town to King Junior High so that I could be with my friends.

A teacher who lives in the community described the effects of the housing projects on the community:

> When we first came out here [to Traceway], there were only two Projects. Then they practically surrounded us with government housing. The Projects brought a lot of people into the area. More people than it is advisable to have in a small area like this. The people who live in government sponsored housing don't have a lot of pride in their homes. They have big families. Cassody School had over 2,000 children when I started teaching here in 1957. They hadn't yet built Daniels Avenue School to take the overflow.

As the community passed through the decade of the 1950's and into the 1960's, little was done to ameliorate the social and economic conditions resulting from poverty, overcrowding, and segregation. The profile of Traceway and the surrounding areas was that of one large amalgamated ghetto. The outflow of whites in the 1940's and 1950's resulted in expansion of the ghetto to areas north and west of Traceway. Heeple Street, the eastern boundary of Traceway, was paralleled by railroad tracks which acted as an "Iron Curtain" to keep blacks from moving into the decidedly unfriendly and "lily white" communities of Peeler, Riverton, Mead, and Hedding. Traceway was part of one large black island in a sea of white neighbors.

From time to time in the early 1960's rumbles of violence echoed from the black island, but no one listened. Then during the middle 1960's, the impact of the past and the frustrations of the present came together in Traceway just as they did in cities across the nation. The community which was once characterized as a "sleepy town" exploded with a massive civil disturbance. Triggered by a confrontation with police, the violence, looting, and burning of property lasted for four days. The most spectacular damage occurred on one block in Traceway where most of the commercial establishments had been located (see Map 1). Except for this block where the disorder started, the majority of the destruction occurred outside of Traceway in other parts of the black ghetto. Yet, to the average citizen of Silver Lake Traceway still means only one thing -- black violence.

The Community Today

Now, twelve years later, the physical appearance of Traceway is not impressively different from what it was before the civil disorder. The old railroad station still stands near the tracks on Jefferson Street and a new medical center is beginning to emerge from a nearby vacant field. Closer to Denver Avenue there is a walled tract of single family dwellings, and the first tenants are just beginning to move into new apartments across the street. A local government official had this to say:

> Since the [civil disturbance] there has been much talk of redevelopment. The government has given us millions of dollars. We could have built a model community with an educational center. But Traceway has lost a lot of steam. The people fight among themselves for power and to get their proposals funded. Anyone can go downtown to the name of the "community" and ask for money. The council has funded cultural and social programs but what we need now is buildings--places for people to shop, better schools. Tan years have been wasted... but we're still ahead of many other black communities.

South of Jefferson Street, down into the old "Hollow" neighborhood which surrounds Cassody School, the contrasts of an earlier era still exist. Shabby absentee-owned dwellings continue to be a "first stop" for the dwindling numbers of poor immigrants who are still arriving from the South. A few blocks away a proud resident who lives at the edge of the Cassody School attendance area said "This is the best of Traceway. The people here are all workers, and they own their own homes." Neat and trim church structures such as that which houses the New Day Baptist congregation stand within view of the many "store front" churches which dot the entire community. As in the past, the latter are matched in number only by the abundance of liquor stores which provide easy access to drink, food, and friends.

At the extreme southern edge of Traceway near Cassody School, the imposing Parkwood Village Housing Project continues to attract the poor. Here winding streets bordered by a seemingly endless number of look-alike, pastel-colored apartment buildings form a maze which confuses the visitor. Before mid-morning there is little activity in the Project except for the cleaning crews who systematically move along picking up trash and rubble which has accumulated since their last visit. By noon "parking lot mechanics" can be seen tinkering with old cars, groups of people of all ages begin gathering outside, and here and there tempting cooking odors fill the air. As the day wears on, the activity increases and by mid-afternoon open doors let out sounds of loud music, crying children, and the latest T.V. episode of "All of My Children."[2]

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[2] Television soap operas were referred to by neighborhood women as "stories." E.g. "I don't want to miss my stories."

The following statistics about the residents who occupied the 1106 available dwelling units in Parkwood Village in 1974 were cited in a proposal to remodel and update the facilities in the Project:

--6.6% of the residents were employed

--93.4% of the residents were receiving some form of welfare

--12.1% of the families were headed by a male

--87.9% of the families were headed by a female

--10% of the families had both parents present in the home

--10% of the families were elderly or disabled.

In 1974 children who lived in Parkwood Village attended either Cassody or Daniels Avenue Elementary Schools or one of two junior or senior high schools. The proposal cited above described the conditions at that time as follows:

> Recently the school administrators and the housing managers have been increasingly concerned for the ability of youngsters to attend the schools because of the threats imposed upon them by juvenile gang activities in the area. To wit: the Silver Lake Police Department has on occasion had to employ additional manpower to assure the students' safety in travelling to the schools. The schools in the area are all experiencing threats to the administrators, teachers, clerical and custodial help by the recalcitrant youth loitering or residing in the project or adjacent residential community. The manager has been advised by many parents of the youngsters that they are keeping their children out of school from time to time in order to protect the children's personal safety. Illicit drug consumption and peddling are very rampant within the schools and the housing project.

A school representative described the social conditions during the period between 1973 and 1975 by saying:

> Parkwood Village was at its worst. People were being ripped off. The Kings and the Black Beauties [gangs] were strong. People were fearful to leave their homes to come to school to participate.

Another school official expanded on the seriousness of gang activity in the schools:

> The gangs started in the high schools. There were shootings, stabbings, beatings, and protection rackets on the school campuses. Life was cheap among young people. They had no value of self or no value of others. Some of the gang leaders didn't care if they lived or died so it didn't matter if they killed someone else.
>
> It didn't take long for junior high school children to get involved. By 1973-1974 fifth and sixth grade students were involved. In one case we discovered little kids running a factory making zip guns.

It appeared that gang activity in the area had diminished when this study was conducted. Yet, the effects of past experiences lingered on. A school district employee said:

> The gangs created an epidemic of fear. New life styles evolved. People are still afraid to go outside after dark. Mothers don't send children to the store alone anymore. People don't walk alone.

The decrease in organized gang activity does not mean that robbery, vandalism, and assault have ceased in the community. During the course of this study a mailman was robbed of the welfare checks which he was delivering at the end of the month. A battery was stolen from a car which was parked on school property. An aide told of a "shooting" in her neighborhood which left two injured men lying on the sidewalk in front of her house. Another told of a death which occurred when a man entered his home and was assaulted by two robbers. Still another aide suddenly left the school one day when she received a phone call informing her that her house had been vandalized.

Women with purses seem to be special targets for thieves. A black, female teacher who has been at Cassody School for many years said:

> I didn't realize that someone might harm me if I went over to the Project. But recently we found a little child wandering around so I told them in the office that I would take him home. He told me where he lived so I walked through the Project with him to try to find his house. It turned out that he belonged in the child care center over there, and they were upset because they couldn't find him. I started walking back by myself. Some parents came along in a car, and they told me to get into the car. They said I shouldn't be walking alone, carrying a purse too, even in the daytime.

Two white teachers who were new to Cassody School had their purses taken from their cars while they were stopped at a traffic signal near the school. An aide described how this almost happened to her as well:

> Mrs. Hoffman said that she had stopped her car at the traffic light at the corner of Morse Avenue and Jefferson Street. She locked her car doors just as she drew up to the light. As she stopped, her car was encircled by young men. When they found that the doors were locked, they moved to the car behind her. They succeeded in opening the door on the driver's side, pushed the woman driver out of the way, grabbed her purse and ran off into the Chalet Gardens Housing Project.

Another employee joined the conversation and commented that the same kind of thing happens near Parkwood Village:

> The purse snatchers probably don't live in the Project. But they may have friends or relatives there and the Project makes an easy get-away.

It appears that the realities of unemployment, continuing vandalism, and the transiency of "friends" and relatives of those living in the Project contribute to the suspicion and mistrust of neighbors and acquaintances. A mother who lives in the Project said:

> Things seem to be lot worse than when I lived here before. A lot more people are on welfare. There are a lot less jobs. There are lots of young men sitting around. When the checks are due you hear them say, 'Hey man, I'm waitin' on mine.' Some people just don't care. They're too young to just be sittin' around!

She went on to describe the conditions which lead residents in the Project to mistrust their neighbors:

> My apartment was broken into five times in the last two years. People are afraid of their neighbors. They may know who they are, but that doesn't make any difference. You can't trust anyone.

Another resident explained why she was selective about her interactions with neighbors:

> I only know a few people that I will have in my house. I know lots of others but I don't mingle with them. Most of the people are cohabitating. My boyfriend just comes to visit. I don't know their men. I don't trust them. You don't know which houses have dope and drugs. Yesterday the cops were hauling a bunch of guys out at 11:30 in the morning.

In spite of the dangers and inconveniences, some people live in the Project because they want to. One mother said:

> I like my house. I like the way it is constructed. I could stay in the Project forever. I have some pretty rough neighbors, but the Project gives good services.

In contrast, another mother expressed a feeling of helplessness in terms of the alternatives which were available to her when she said:

> I want to move out. If I could find low income housing in a place that was safe. . . . but here I feel trapped, caged. The reason that I spend so much time at the school is that I hate being here.

Illustrations provided throughout this study give further insights into the attitudes, behaviors, and motivations of the people who live in the Cassody School community. While many of the residents had common experiences in relationship to their socioeconomic and racial backgrounds, it must be pointed out that contrasting viewpoints such as those expressed by the two mothers cited above preclude sweeping generalizations about the people in the community. Yet, one thing all the parents interviewed for this study had in common was that their children attended Cassody School.

Cassody School

Cassody School occupies the city block of Traceway which is bordered by Cassody Court on the north, Daniels Avenue on the south, and Randolph Street on the east. It is busy Morse Avenue on the west which separates the school from Parkwood Village (see Map 1). One corner of the school playground, near Daniels Avenue and Morse Avenue, is utilized by the Traceway Education Center. The Center, a branch of Sentry/Poore

Community Adult School, is under the auspices of the Silver Lake School District, and operates as a fulltime day facility for adults.

The majority of the Adult School classes are held in an old, three-story, white frame building which was once Cassody School. At one time, the building housed all of the students at the school. In the 1950's, a more modern two-story building was erected to provide additional space for the growing number of children who moved to the neighborhood. The old building continued to be used and in the 1960's, when enrollment at the school reached its peak, numerous portable buildings were erected to complete the conglomerate arrangement of physical facilities for the growing population.

In 1970, another two-story addition to the school was completed. It was linked to the two-story ediface which is now called the "old wing" by a suite of administrative offices and meeting rooms which were previously housed in the old Adult School building. Then, with the school's physical needs satisfied, the student population began to decrease. "Conditions in the community" which resulted in fewer immigrants and more emigrants or "the pill" were cited most often as the cause of the declining enrollment. Whatever the reason, the 1,088 children who crammed the rooms and halls in 1966 had decreased to 718 by December 17, 1976.

Today the old white frame building which houses the Adult School stands as a monument to the changes which have occurred both within the Cassody School neighborhood and the school itself. The blacktopped playground surrounding the school on two sides is free of portable buildings. Some of the rooms in the "old wing" stand empty and children have plenty of space to run freely within the confines of the chain link fence surrounding the school block. Unlike the old frame building, the nearly windowless front facade of the anonymous-looking new building hides the dynamic community which exists within. The neatly kept grounds, the graffeti-free buildings, and the properly manicured patch of lawn at the front of the school stand in sharp contrast to the neighborhood it serves.

School-Community Interface: An Historical Perspective

Precise details of some of the events which occurred at Cassody School previous to the period of time covered by this study are limited. However, information obtained by the researcher suggests that conditions in the school during the latter half of the 1960's reflect the unsettled social conditions in the community at that time. A teacher gave this account of what it was like to be at the school:

> After the [civil disturbance] there was a group of people called the Community Involvement Program. It was made up of people that no one ever saw in the school before. People who were agitated by someone on the other side of town. Among other things, they charged that the staffs in the black schools were inferior. They brought charges against the white principal, Mr. Jones, and he was finally transferred. We lost 16 teachers after that. They didn't want to be considered inferior.

Apparently the major demand of the community advocates was that a black principal be appointed by Cassody School. Yet, after Mr. Jones left the school, the district appointed another white male to the principalship. When disharmony in the school community continued, the second man was transferred and still another white male was sent to the school. It was not until September, 1968, that the present black principal, Mrs. Boone, came to the school. In an effort to explain the events which occurred during this period of time, one staff member said:

> The parent problems after the Traceway Riot were related to the black people's desire for complete freedom. The people were overly angry with anything that meant the system. They made demands for the schools to have large numbers of black teachers, that the children be taught about black pride, that blacks be represented in textbooks, and that the black national anthem be sung in school.

Thus, the influence of the community was felt by the people at Cassody School. Morale of the staff was low and there were indications of internal problems in the school which contributed to the cycle of events which occurred. Another staff member stated:

> There was inner conflict at the school. Some teachers were unhappy, and they used the parents as a tool to get rid of Mr. Jones. The marchers were soon gone and so were Mr. Jones and the other principals. But the black teachers who stirred up the trouble stayed at the school. They were still here when Mrs. Boone came.

Speaking of the staff, Mrs. Boone described the "lack of cohesiveness and commitment" with which she was met when she arrived at the school by saying:

> They just had this things about administrators. Their attitude was one of "I don't want to be bothered. I don't want anyone to tell me what to do. I'm my own boss and this is what I want." They had been doing this for five years. And the group of people who was

> causing the trouble didn't leave. This was a good place for them to hang up their hats and stay forever because nobody rocked the boat. . .

Resistance to change was strong. The question of who was running the school became a source of conflict for those who did not want to relinquish their self-assertive roles. Mrs. Boone went on to illustrate the conditions at the school with these examples:

> Someone might walk into the office at 9:30 and say, "Oh, I have a funeral. You'll have to get someone to take my class." There was no supervision on the yard, and the staff was 100% union. Anything that was not rosy and sweet--you'd look up and there were the union represenitves wanting to find out who the principal is, and what's happening to these teachers and aides.

At the same time that she was identifying the problems within the school, Mrs. Boone was also developing an awareness of what was happening in the community. Describing the subpublic of parents making demands on the school Mrs. Boone said:

> The parents were used to doing whatever certain personnel wanted them to do. They had been involved at the school, but it was in a controversial, upsetting kind of way; get rid of the principal or get rid of the teachers--keep the police out, keep everybody out. It was a hostile group of parents, I admit.

Yet the time was right for change. Along with other events during this period of time, the late 1960's were marked by the infusion of large amounts of ESEA Title I monies into urban inner-city schools for the purpose of improving pupil achievement levels through programs of individualized instruction. An instructional needs assessment had been conducted at the school by the previous principal but little more had been done to organize a program at Cassody School. This task, along with providing authoritative leadership for running the school, appears in retrospect to have been Mrs. Boone's first order of business. Capitalizing on the frustrations and need for leadership both within and outside of the school, Mrs. Boone presented black parents and staff members with a unifying cause. According to a number of parents and staff respondents, she made the following statement:

> I have a goal. If you work with me, we can prove that black kids can learn to read and write.

One of the issues in the community centered around the lack of achievement of the black students at the school. Standardized test scores for the 1968-1969 school year were near the bottom of the list which was published annually by the district. Protesting subpublics in the community were vocal. Teachers were accused of being incompetent, while appearing to resist change. To add to the emotional overtones of the situation, most of the teachers were black. Black teachers not helping black children to learn was contrary to the movement toward black pride which was prevalent at the time. Issues and subpublics were identified, and an appeal to an emotional cause was a challenge which could not go unheeded.

Still, the concept of objective-based individualized instruction which was being proposed by Mrs. Boone was met with objections by those who had other philosophies for teaching and learning. This resistance on the part of staff members was reiterated by a person who said:

> When Mrs. Boone started talking about individualizing instruction she met with much resistance from the staff. But she had enough insight to see that she needed parent participation.

Obviously recognizing that parent involvement would provide support for the program which she was proposing, Mrs. Boone made a conscious effort to reach out to the community. Of this effort she said:

> I was here sometimes from seven in the morning until nine at night. I just got on the phone and called people. I'd get to know the children, and then I'd call the parent. I just started servicing and getting acquainted with the parents, and then they started coming in.

After the Christmas holidays, when it began to appear that some of the staff and an increasing number of parents would entertain Mrs. Boone's ideas for individualizing instruction, the principal was faced with a new crisis. The teachers went out on strike. According to Mrs. Boone:

> It was '70. In the Spring. All of them went out. They had to. Those that came the first day, they pressured them so, and put blockades in the driveways so they couldn't get out. They did everything to take them off. Six of them stayed. But these six people had a hard time after they got back. Yes, they all went out. All the clerks, all the aides, all the custodians.

In spite of the hardship caused by the strike, it appears from at least one point of view, that the strike served to strengthen Mrs. Boone's position with the community. A parent who had children in the school at that time said:

> Then came the teacher's strike. She [Mrs. Boone] was out there all by herself. A few loyal people stayed. But almost 100% went out. I got mad. I would have helped the teachers by walking the picket line for them, but I thought that they should have stayed in the classroom. That's how I came to admire her. Not only is she a principal, but she can teach.

The chronology of events after the strike is not clear to the researcher but it appears that most of the teachers came back to the school and continued efforts were made to improve the instructional program. At some point, the president of the staff association is reported to have approached Mrs. Boone saying that the teachers wanted to know more about her proposals for individualizing instruction. An identifiable group of teachers still did not wish to get involved, but by the second year of Mrs. Boone's tenure at the school, increased efforts were being made to work toward the common goal of teaching black children to read and write.

One of the factors which gave the efforts legitimacy and thus provided an added impetus was that standardized test scores improved at the end of the 1969-1970 school year. According to Mrs. Boone:

> The first thing that really helped the parents to get a different opinion of this school was at the end of the first school year when the scores of all of the schools were printed and for the first time in their lives, their children were not on the bottom.

Success generated more success. When parents had access to the school, they came to volunteer and they began to attend Advisory Council meetings. Some teachers were team teaching, instructional packets for individualization were being utilized, and other new ideas were being tried. Again the principal said:

> We were trying to team as best we could. Everybody was doing something different. You couldn't find a thread, but everybody was trying.

During the 1970-1971 school year, Cassody School experienced a federal audit of its Title I program. Evaluators were impressed with the efforts being made at the school, but it was suggested that the principal investigate Individually Guided Education (IGE) as a mechanism for managing the program she had initiated at the school. Acting on this suggestion, all available information was brought back to the school by the principal. Both parents and teachers were involved in studying the program. When the decision was made in April 1971 that the school would adopt IGE, approval came from both the staff and the Advisory Council.

In the years between 1971 and 1977, the school continued to refine its instructional program and standardized achievement scores increased steadily. When the state initiated the Primary Education Growth Program in 1973, Cassody School was designated a model school. Commendations arrived from the State Superintendent of Schools and from a local councilman which now decorate the office walls. Large numbers of visitors came to the school and newspaper and television coverage made the school and its neighborhood visible. Parents who came to the school were involved in the program and they were given their share of the credit for its success.

Still, many of the staff members did not agree with the philosophy of IGE as it was interpreted by Mrs. Boone. A core of teachers actively resisted the concept of team teaching and objective based instruction. Others, even during the course of this study, were passively resistant. Yet, by the mid 1970's, the school seemed to have attained a high degree of support and legitimacy, at least among those parents who were actively involved. In this respect an informant said:

> Mrs. Boone had a negative group of teachers when she came to the school, but they were ineffective [in preventing the development of the IGE program] because the parents who were at the school were pretty much convinced that the school was doing a good job, and because of the kind of publicity that the school was getting from the outside.

In an effort to explain the above statement the informant said:

> There were always visitors in the school. Mrs. Boone used parents to show the visitors around. That was a pat on the back for them.
>
> The Advisory Council wrote a letter to the District Superintendent. They said, "Everyone else has been here, but we haven't seen you." When the superintendent came, Mrs. Boone had at least 35 parents there all dressed up. She is very good on public relations.
>
> Everytime Mrs. Boone received a letter from someone about the school she made a copy of it and gave it to the parents.

At the same time that the school was being recognized for its instructional program, Mrs. Boone was also identifying and dealing with relevant issues and needs in the neighborhood community. She explained her involvement in various activities outside of the school by saying:

> I'm interested in a model community. If there is a problem out there and it affects our children, we tackle it. Those people don't know where to go for help so they come to school.

Working through the Advisory Council when possible and independently when necessary, Mrs. Boone provided leadership for "cleaning up" the neighborhood around the school. The local councilman was invited to the school to hear concerns about old houses which were safety hazards for children and havens for derelicts, vacant lots with weeds and rubbish which needed to be cleared, and a variety of other problems existing in the community. Mrs. Boone was persistent in her efforts and the results were tangible in the community. Old buildings were boarded up or torn down, the health department cleared away old mattresses and junk from a lot near Parkwood Village, weeds were cut, and a long list of other improvements were made. Everyone seemed to know that if Mrs. Boone did not get what she wanted the first time, she would find another way to reach her goal. If influentials were perceived by Mrs. Boone as standing in the way of problem solving for the community, she apparently "went around them" or as one person said, "She really got on my tail!" A parent who was on the Advisory Council in the early 1970's made this comment:

> Mrs. Boone is a fighter. She is known for going after things and getting them. She is a remarkable lady at the bargaining table. If she ever ran for office she would win.

Thus, Mrs. Boone became an advocate for Cassody School and its community. Responding to various subpublics who lacked experience and skills for community action, she identified and petitioned those individuals and agencies who could provide resources to the school and the community. One observer said:

> Mrs. Boone was trying to make Cassody a community school. She invited the councilman in. One of her projects was to clean up Parkwood Village. She worked through the Housing Authority, the councilman, and the Mayor. Her efforts were mainly a one woman shot. She was never satisfied or complacent.

Another observer noted that Mrs. Boone was politically astute. She was perceived as having influential contacts and as knowing how to use them. This person said:

> One Christmas she had gifts for the children flown to the school playground by helicopter. I think that they were paid for by someone else, and sent by the governor.

So, in addition to making the school's efforts visible through improved academic achievement, the principal herself gained personal legitimacy through the tangible results which came from her skill and ingenuity in tapping a wide range of resources for the community. Through her, the school received support from a number of community sub-publics and the instructional program was given added legitimacy. A minister whose church is located in Traceway said:

> Mrs. Boone is considered by the black people in my congregation as one of the most efficient elementary principals in Silver Lake. She is an outstanding civic leader. She is also an excellent speaker. She knows how to create a desire in people to get what they want.

It is within this historical context of community conflict, followed by community support for the school, that the instructional program at Cassody School came to have its real meaning. In a community where there was no common purpose and where adults and children alike were looked upon as failures, Mrs. Boone's leadership provided hope and self-esteem for a variety of subpublics. Working as a community advocate, she was able to satisfy vocal subpublics outside of the school and neutralize the power of dissidents within the school. In the process, she established personal legitimacy which generated support for the school and the instructional program.

Summary

The neighborhood served by Cassody School is located in the segregated black community of Traceway. Traceway is one of numerous culturally distinct areas in the larger urban City of Silver Lake. Some residents have lived in their own homes in Traceway for many years. However, the majority of families served by Cassody School live in the Parkwood Village Housing Project or in rented homes or apartments near the school. The Project and its surrounding community are characterized by a high incidence of crime, transiency, and poverty-related conditions.

Three major indices of social time in the community and the school are described in this chapter. First, Parkwood Village and other low income housing projects were constructed during the 1950's. This event accelerated the concentration of poor black residents in Traceway and exacerbated social ills in the community. Direct impact of this event on Cassody School was measured by increased enrollment and lack of physical space to accomodate the influx of new students. The second event of major significance was the massive civil disturbance which occurred in the 1960's. This event reflected growing unrest in the community, sharpened disharmony within the school and created a climate of manifest conflict between the school and the community. Finally, appointment of the current principal of Cassody School, Mrs. Boone, marked a third event of major significance. The initiation of added structure within the school, the introduction of Individually Guided Education, and resolution of conflict between the school and the community are phenomena related to the latter event on the local social timeline.

Findings

Events and conditions described in this chapter provide an historical setting for the remainder of this study. In addition, the data suggests the following findings relevant to the stated research objectives.

A. Resolution as a Home-School-Community Relations Process

1. When the locus of conflict was between the neighborhood and the school, resolution occurred in the form of power plays which forced the removal of three principals from the school.
2. When the locus of conflict was within the school, the principal utilized both legal and professional authority to enforce rules and regulations and to initiate structure at Cassody School.

3. The ability of the principal to initiate order and structure within the school was underscored by residual conflict resulting from new issues related to the implementation of the instructional program.

4. The charismatic effect of the principal's stated goal of teaching black children to read and write encouraged task orientation aimed at pupil achievement and tended to neutralize conflict in the school environment.

B. Analysis as a Home-School-Community Relations Process

1. The principal demonstrated the use of analysis when she identified issues and their related subpublics inside and outside of the school, sought solutions and resources from appropriate allocators and thus resolved manifest conflict between the school and the community.

C. Primary Interaction Patterns

1. The interaction patterns of the principal included a wide variety of subpublics in the school district, the school and the community.

2. Primary interactions of the principal in the early stages of developing effective home-school-community relations included planned communications with children and parents.

Additional findings related to these elements of a home-school-community relations program are cited in succeeding chapters. The following chapter is focused on the school as an organization.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA: ORGANIZATIONAL PATTERNS AND POLICIES

Cassody School is one of a large number of schools in the Silver Lake School District. In spite of the diversity of ethnic origins, races, and socioeconomic levels represented in the various parts of the city and surrounding communities which make up the Silver Lake School District, the Silver Lake Board of Education is committed to meeting educational goals which satisfy the needs of all of the children and young adults in the city. As a result, numerous specialized personnel and services are provided, and a variety of administrative arrangements, policies, and programs affect each individual school. The purpose of this chapter is to describe and interpret some of those organizational factors which influence and make up the organizational profile of Cassody School.

The District

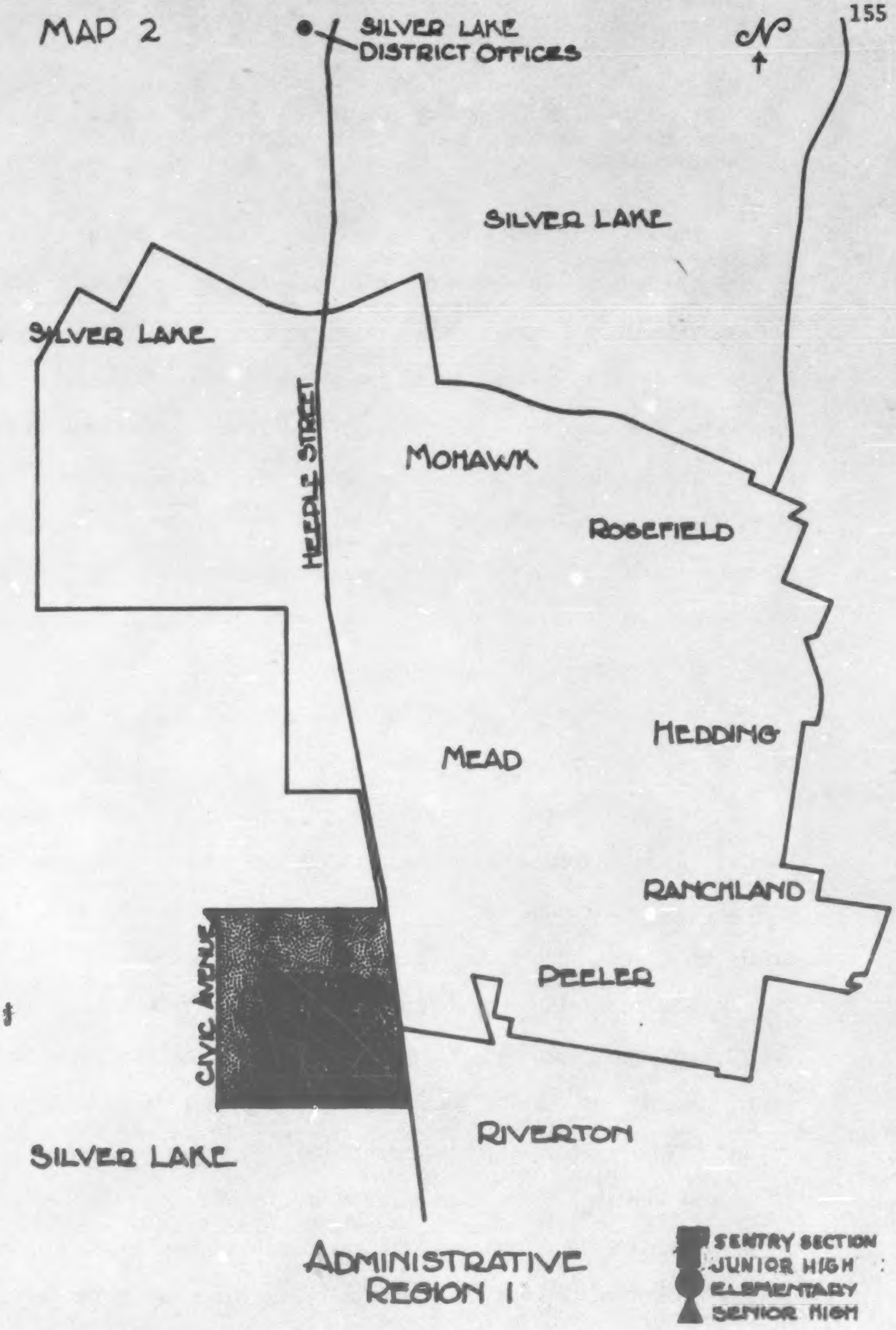
Because of the size of the Silver Lake School District, and as a result of demands for more citizen involvement, the district has been divided into several semi-autonomous administrative regions. Each region encompasses a specific geographical vicinity, and is administered by a regional superintendent. The regions are further divided into sections which consist of one senior high school and the elementary and junior high schools in its attendance area.

Cassody School is located in Region 1. This region stretches in an irregular pattern from downtown Silver Lake to the southern edge of Traceway. It extends beyond the municipal boundaries to the east to include schools in those cities shown on Map 2. According to school district records, in 1966 the population of Region 1 consisted of identifiable residental enclaves of mainly Anglo, black, and Spanish surname residents. Generally speaking the neighborhoods to the east of Traceway beyond the Silver Lake City limits were predominantly Anglo; a smaller central part of the region was settled by residents with Spanish surnames; and that part of the region east of Heeple Street which is in Silver Lake was occupied by black families.

Between 1966 and 1975 many new families with Spanish surnames moved into the southeastern neighborhoods displacing large numbers of Anglos who moved out of the region. As the older Spanish-speaking population moved north and west, blacks also began to move further west and out of Region 1. Despite the loss of black and Anglo students, the enrollment of Region 1 schools has continued to increase by approximately 2000 students annually. A school official described the current situation in Region 1 this way:

> The population growth in Region 1 and the rapidly changing ethnic characteristics of the students are creating serious problems. The physical plants of most of the schools are old and the playgrounds are small. One hundred forty-six teachers, including those in kindergartens, are teaching double sessions.
>
> As schools are closed in other parts of the city because of declining enrollments, teachers must be given assignments in places like Region 1 where enrollments are increasing. This doesn't allow the

MAP 2


SILVER LAKE
DISTRICT OFFICES
N
SILVER LAKE
SILVER LAKE
HEEPLE STREET
MOHAWK
ROSEFIELD
HEDDING
MEAD
RANCHLAND
PEELER
CIVIC AVENUE
RIVERTON
SILVER LAKE
SENTRY SECTION
JUNIOR HIGH
ELEMENTARY
SENIOR HIGH

ADMINISTRATIVE REGION 1

> district to hire new, young teachers. Yet, the old teachers may not be prepared to teach in the changing neighborhoods.

Region 1 is divided into five sections. Cassody School is one of nine elementary schools, along with Rush Junior High School and Sentry Senior High School which make up the Sentry Section of Region 1 (see Map 2). The boundaries of the Sentry Section are nearly synonymous with the boundaries of Traceway. Unlike other sections in the region, the Sentry Section has lost nearly 4000 students since 1966. It has also not been affected by an influx of students with Spanish surnames. As of 1975, the section served approximately 9500 students, 96.8 percent of whom were black, 3.1 percent of whom had Spanish surnames, and .1 percent of whom were listed on school records as being Anglo. These racial percentages were almost identical, in spite of the loss of students, to those reported in 1966.

Articulation between the administrative levels of the district is facilitated by a formal organizational pattern of representation from each administrative and advisory unit to the next highest level. Principals of schools in a section meet regularly to discuss and make recommendations about issues which are common to their attendance area. The elected chairperson of this group represents the section in an advisory capacity at regular meetings of the regional superintendent's cabinet. The regional superintendent, in turn, represents the region at regular meetings with the district superintendent. Thus, in addition to an array of other formal and informal devices, mechanisms for two-way communication between the hierarchical extremes of administration have been built into the bureaucratic structure of the decentralized organization.

General policies related to budget and personnel originate in district offices. Budgetary autonomy at the regional level appears to be limited to the dispersion of "discretionary" funds which are allocated by the district to meet particular curricular and management needs in the region. Other monetary allocations, as well as personnel quotas for the regional offices and for individual schools, are based on a district ratio which is determined by enrollment. The screening, hiring, and assignment of personnel is a function of the district office, although principals have the option of interviewing and selecting candidates from those whose names are on an approved list.

Mandated Desegregation

Previous to the time of this study the Silver Lake School District was ordered by the courts to desegregate its schools. The first phase of the district's desegregation plan was implemented during the 1976-77 school year when teachers were assigned to schools on the basis of their race. The staff desegregation plan provided teachers with the opportunity to voluntarily transfer to schools in which the majority of the children were not of their own racial origin. Beyond the voluntary component, a lottery was devised by which employees whose birthdays were in designated months were automatically reassigned to schools where the teaching staff was not racially balanced. Segregated schools in which the student population was primarily minority, such as Cassody, were expected to attain a ratio of no more than 60 percent minority and 40 percent Anglo teachers.

The second phase of the desegregation plan is to be implemented during the 1977-78 school year. This phase will involve the desegregation of children. Before this study commenced, a district-wide desegregation committee of representative citizen and employee groups was appointed. During the course of the study the committee presented a recommendation to the Silver Lake School Board which included a plan for massive busing. Within a week after the board heard the advisory committee recommendations, an administrative plan which was much less drastic was revealed. Before this study was concluded, large numbers of citizens were attending school board meetings and public hearings to support or protest the proposed plan. Members of the Region 1 Advisory Committee went on record favoring some form of the original Citizen Advisory Committee proposal. On a day in which school was not in session, a busload of Anglo children was driven to Cassody School with full television coverage by parents who were protesting the busing of their children into the inner-city of Silver Lake.

The School

Cassody School utilizes a modified version of the prototypic IGE multiunit structure (see Appendix L). Teachers maintain homerooms which are heterogeneously organized to include students of more than one grade level. Teachers of homerooms with children in identical grade levels are grouped into teams, each of which has a team leader and a subject matter specialist to assist with planning and instruction. Teams A and B comprise the PEG[1] unit (grades 1-3), and teams D, E, and F make up the intermediate unit (grades 4-6). The PEG coordinator and the intermediate coordinator facilitate the operation of each unit. In addition, a curriculum coordinator is responsible for the development and utilization of instructional materials at all levels. A fourth coordinator assumes management responsibilities for the overall Title I program.

Teams are scheduled to meet on a regular basis to discuss the needs of their groups. Minutes of these meetings are forwarded to the principal who separates the concerns into those which are administrative in nature and those which are related to the instructional program. Administrative matters are dealt with by the principal's cabinet which is composed of the four coordinators. Other matters of interest are taken to the school-wide Instructional Improvement Committee (IIC) which is composed of the principal, the team leaders, the subject-matter specialists, the coordinators, and a parent representative. During the course of this study weekly inservice-staff meetings were held, with attendance required by all members of the faculty.

The school also has a Preschool class and a kindergarten team. Technically, they are part of the PEG unit. Organizationally, it appears that the Preschool class and the kindergarten classes function as separate units. In addition, there are two self-contained classrooms for children with exceptional needs. The Guidance class is an adjustment room for children in grades 4-6 who, for social or intellectual reasons, are unable to function at an optimal level in a regular classroom for the full school day. The second self-contained classroom is for children in grades 4-6 who have been identified as Educationally Mentally Retarded (EMR). Another EMR class for children in grades 1-3 is a part of Team A. The latter two classes are open to children from other elementary school attendance areas. In addition to special classes, paraprofessionals, under the supervision of the coordinators, maintain a math laboratory, two reading rooms, and provide liaison services between the school and the parents.

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[1] PEG is an acronym for Primary Education Growth. The PEG program and the Title I Programs are described in Chapter V.

A variety of support personnel, provided on the basis of regular district quotas, move in and out of the school each week. With the exception of the nurse whose services are supported by the PEG program as well as the district, none of these employees maintains full-time offices at the school, nor does it appear that they are a part of the formal multiunit structure.

For administrative purposes, clerical, custodial, and cafeteria employees are organized into separate units which are headed by an office manager, a plant manager, and a cafeteria manager. The heads of each of these units are directly responsible to the principal and appear to have no formal representation in the multiunit structure of the school. They did attend some faculty meetings during the course of this study.

The people who work at Cassody School are listed by name and position in Table 4. The children are listed by grade level. With-

TABLE 4

THE PEOPLE AT CASSODY SCHOOL

Principal	Mrs. Boone
Title I Management Coordinator	Mr. Smith
Curriculum Coordinator	Mr. Sauk
Math Specialist (all grades)	Miss Peterson
Math Lab Aide	Mrs. Phinney

THE MULTIUNIT STRUCTURE

PBG Unit

Coordinator	Mrs. Vargo
Extended Reading Room Aide	Mrs. Minor

Position	Team A	Team B	Team C
Reading Specialist	Mrs. Moffet	Mrs. Vodak	This team was eliminated before the study began due to a drop in enrollment.
Team Leader	Miss Gray	Mrs. Vandt	
Teachers	Mrs. Daley Mr. Damon Mrs. Barden Mr. Fiebig	Miss Petran Mr. Kaster Mrs. Keil Mrs. Duffey Mrs. Buell	
Aides	Mrs. Holton Mrs. Reilly Mr. Tamm	Mrs. Collins Mrs. Esser Mrs. Freeman	
Students			
First Grade	42	52	
Second Grade	38	67	
Third Grade	43	51	
Educationally Mentally Retarded (EMR)	15		

Intermediate Unit

Coordinator	Mrs. Roberts
Reading Specialist	Mrs. Haywood
Reading Room Aide	Mrs. Dawne

TABLE 4 (Continued)

Intermediate Unit (Cont.)

Position	Team D	Team E	Team F
Team Leader	Mr. Grinde	Mrs. Overman	Mrs. Reno
Teachers	Mr. Reeves	Mrs. Warner	Miss Rhoda
	Mrs. Regan	Mrs. Jacobson	Mrs. Perry
Aides	Mrs. Sobbe	Mrs. Hoffman	Mrs. Kramer
Students			
Fourth Grade	13	27	38
Fifth Grade	37	30	30
Sixth Grade	52	44	30

Other Classes

Preschool Class

Teacher	Miss Stewart
Aide	Mrs. Viking
Students	15

(not counted in school enrollment)

Guidance Class

Teacher	Miss Lind
Students (from 4-5-6)	22

(not counted in school enrollment)

Kindergarten Team

Team Leader	Miss Weeks
Teachers	Miss Woodbury
	Mrs. Yadrow
Aide	Mrs. Dailey
Students	
First Grade	14
Kindergarten	82

Intermediate Educationally Mentally Retarded (EMR)

Teacher	Mr. Ringle
Aide	Mrs. Earlie
Students	13

District Employees Assigned to the School

Position	Name	Times Per Week
Nurse	Mrs. Gensick	4.5 days
Counselor	Mr. Schieb	1.25 days
Pupil Services and Attendance Counselor	Mr. Fennel	.5 day
Speech Teacher	Mrs. Laurel	1.5 days
Vision Teacher	Mr. Soto	2 hours

TABLE 4 (Continued)

District Employees Assigned to the School (cont.)

Position	Name	Times Per Week
Correctional Physical Education	Mr. Milburn	1 day
Mainstream Teacher	Miss Lopez	1 day
Doctor	Dr. Dane	.5 day (per month)

Other Employees

Community Representatives (Aides)	Mrs. Lindsey Mrs. Harritt
Clerical Unit	
Office Manager	Mrs. Madden
Clerks	Mrs. Lantz Mrs. West
High School Worker	Miss Sobbe
Custodial Unit	
Plant Manager	Mr. Parker
Custodians	Mr. Pierre Mr. Reid Mr. Fox Mrs. Cubberley
Cafeteria Unit	
Cafeteria Manager	Mrs. Spencer
Assistants	Mrs. Billings Mrs. Weber Mrs. Liston Mrs. Miller Mrs. Brown Mrs. Samuels
Noon Duty and Breakfast Aides	Mrs. Tatro Mrs. Stans Mrs. Page Mrs. Palmer Mrs. Papp Mrs. Scallon

out counting the volunteers who come to the school regularly, district personnel who come as needed, and substitutes who arrive on a day to day basis, the number of adults and children who inhabit the school constitute a vast array of faces and personalities. The presence of instructional personnel other than those who are provided by the district on the basis of enrollment can be attributed to special programs which operate within the school.

Effects of Desegregation

While the impending plan for student desegregation was a pervasive topic of conversation throughout the district, the immediate effect of the plan was felt at Cassody School in relationship to staff assignments. During the 1975-1976 school year, approximately 25 percent of the teaching staff of 30-35 people at Cassody was white. Four of these people left the school at the end of the year. In addition, twelve black teachers were transferred out of the school as part of the desegregation plan and one received an administrative promotion. As a result, a total of seventeen experienced staff members did not return to Cassody School. It was anticipated that some positions would not be filled due to decreased enrollment, but where replacements were needed it was understood that white teachers would be assigned to the school.

The mere citing of numbers cannot fully explain the impact of the staff reorganization on the school. Comments by the principal seemed to indicate that she was not sure of the make-up of her staff until the first day of school. Even then some teachers whose names she had received apparently did not appear, and substitute teachers came in their places. Shifting enrollments, unanticipated resignations and promotions, and resulting reassignments within the building contributed to an atmosphere of instability and uncertainty at the school.

Some teaching teams were affected more seriously than others. Early in the school year when the enrollment did not reach the anticipated number, a black kindergarten teacher was transferred out of the school. Before November 1, the enrollment had gone up again, and the permanent teacher was replaced by a long-term[2] black substitute. In January the substitute resigned. She was replaced with an Anglo teacher who had just graduated from college. On the same team, a new Anglo teacher was assigned to a kindergarten room at the beginning of the year. Approximately three weeks after school started she resigned. She was replaced by a number of day-to-day substitutes until a long-term black substitute was assigned to the room during the time of this study. In addition, the aide who was assigned to the kindergarten team took a leave of absence in December, 1976. She was replaced by another aide in January, 1977. Though these incidences were not related to teacher desegregation, additional adjustments by the teachers and children in the kindergarten team were required.

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[2] Long-term substitutes are differentiated from day-to-day substitutes by the length of time that they stay in a school. A classroom with a day-to-day substitute may have a different teacher everyday, though this is not always the case. Long-term substitutes may be in a classroom for several weeks or for a full year. Technically, these two classifications are related to differing pay scales and employee benefits which are provided by the district.

The PEG Unit had more new Anglo teachers assigned to positions in September than did the Intermediate Unit. The organization of the teams was affected by this factor. When Team C was dissolved due to loss of enrollment, an effort was made to balance Teams A and B with experienced people to provide leadership for the instructional program and to provide assistance to the new teachers. When this study began, reading specialists were acting as team leaders for both teams.

Table 5 indicates the racial distribution of teachers in the PEG Unit, with additional annotations to explain the changes in staffing and team leadership which occurred during the course of this study.

TABLE 5

THE PEG UNIT

Position	Team A	Team B
Reading Specialist	Mrs. Moffet (B)	Mrs. Vodak (A)
Team Leader	II Miss Gray (A)	II Mrs. Duffey (B)
		Mrs. Yandt (B)
Teachers	Mrs. Daley (A)*	Miss Petran (B)*
	Mr. Damon (A)*	Mr. Kaster (B)[2]
	Mr. Fiebig (B)[1]	Mrs. Keil (B)[3]
		Mrs. Buell (B)[4]

Key

II - Became team leader after the study began.
(A) - Anglo teacher
(B) - Black teacher
*Anglo teacher assigned to Cassody School in September.

[1] Mr. Fiebig was a long-term substitute for Miss Steward, an Anglo teacher who was out of the school on sick leave. Miss Steward returned in January and took the place of the black Preschool teacher who took a consultant position in Region 1 in anticipation of being transferred next year.

TABLE 5 - Continued

[2] Mr. Kaster replaced an Anglo teacher assigned to the school in September. She took a sick leave shortly after school began.

[3] Mrs. Keil was a long-term substitute for an Anglo teacher who was assigned to the school in September and who resigned in January.

[4] Mrs. Buell was the music teacher at Cassody School until January. Her class in Team B was organized after Christmas.

Table 6 illustrates the racial composition of the intermediate unit. No changes in team leadership occurred during the course of this study.

TABLE 6

THE INTERMEDIATE UNIT

Position	Team D	Team E	Team F
Team Leader	Mr. Grinde (B)	Mrs. Overman (B)	Mrs. Reno (B)
Teachers	Mr. Reeves (B)	Mrs. Warner (A)*	Miss Rhoda (A)**
	Mrs. Regan (B)	Mrs. Jacobson (A)**	Mrs. Perry (B)

Key

(A) - Anglo teacher
(B) - Black teacher
*Mrs. Warner was assigned to Cassody School in September. She was absent at least one day each week. Before the study ended she served one month on jury duty. Day-to-day substitutes taught her classes while she was away.
**Both Mrs. Jacobson and Miss Rhoda resigned in January. Mrs. Jacobson was also absent frequently, though not as often as Mrs. Warner. Day-to-day substitutes taught her classes during her absences.

Two other Anglo teachers were assigned to Cassody School in September. Miss Lind, the Guidance class teacher, was a recent college graduate who was at the school when this study was terminated. Mr. Sauk, the curriculum coordinator, had previously been a consultant from the Region 1 office. At the end of the first semester he received an administrative promotion and left the school. Plans were under way at the end of January, 1977, to appoint another reading specialist in lieu of replacing the curriculum coordinator.

Obviously the teacher desegregation plan had a kaleidoscopic effect on staffing patterns at Cassody School. The instability of the staff was a radical change for a school in which the tenure of the teachers before the desegregation plan was estimated to have been approximately eight to ten years. Most of the new teachers had never worked in an inner-city school before, nor had they worked with black children, teachers, and parents. Yet, even if they had come to the school with these experiences, an adjustment period would have been necessary as they learned the procedures at the school and as the "old" staff members adjusted to the changes.

One of the most striking examples of the need to learn new procedures was related to the distribution of supplies such as paper, pencils, and art materials. In this respect, Cassody School utilized a procedure known as a "closed" supply room. That is, supplies were ordered in advance by teachers in lieu of going to a storeroom and taking whatever was needed on a daily or weekly basis. The procedure was described by the supply clerk as follows:

> Supplies are delivered to teachers once a month. I place a requisition form in the teachers' mailboxes one week before the supplies are to be delivered. The requisition form is turned into the office within that week. Sometimes supplies are out of stock or we don't have the same things that other schools have. Then they must be ordered from stock accounting [district]. That takes another week or two.

One employee gave this explanation of why the supply room was not open to teachers:

> The supplies are kept under lock and key to maintain the flow. At one time we tried a pilot program to put the colored paper in drawers in the work room. Some teachers took more than their share.

Whether this procedure was typical of other inner-city schools in the district is not known. However, it seemed apparent that it was different from what some of the new teachers had known in previous teaching experiences. In reaction a new teacher said:

> I've never seen a school with so little supplies. I have never been subjected to a closed supply room. I don't know what is available. What I ask for is not available.

For those teachers who had not worked in an inner-city school before, it was difficult to anticipate their needs. For instance, the experienced inner-city teacher knew that unless special procedures were established in the classroom, children who did not have pencils at home had a tendency to take them from school, to lose them, or to simply grind them up in the pencil sharpener. A new white teacher discovered this the hard way:

> In other schools when I ordered four dozen pencils they lasted for ten weeks. Here they lasted for four weeks. But I couldn't get anymore because they had to be ordered ahead of time.

Those teachers who were absent learned that their supplies didn't last as long as when they were in the room themselves. In this respect one teacher said:

> When subs come into your room they use ditto paper freely. The amount that we can get is limited and we can't get any more without ordering a month in advance.

In addition to these factors, the ordering of supplies by new teachers was complicated by their unfamiliarity with the instructional program at the school and their inability to anticipate instructional needs as is shown by this statement:

> We have some math materials but they have to be thermofaxed, and I don't have any thermofax paper. You have to order supplies a month in advance. When you don't know the program and what you will be teaching next, it is hard to know what to order.

The experiences and concerns of new teachers in relationship to the availability of supplies necessitated procedural modifications on the part of the administrative organization as well as personal adjustments on the part of individuals. Numerous other examples could be provided regarding the need for patience, understanding, and flexibility on the parts of all those who were affected by the staff desegregation plan. Thus, it must be pointed out that Cassody School was characterized by various degrees of interpersonal and organizational stress due to the implementation of the desegregation plan during the course of this study.

Corporal Punishment and Discipline

The subject of discipline and student behavior was a major concern at Cassody School. The best illustrations of the problems which existed at the school came from children who were asked if there was anything that they would like to change about their school. One verbal sixth grader made this statement:

> Kids are sneakin' off the campus to buy candy. Sometimes they buy it on the way to school and sometimes they go back. They kick the ball over the fence, or they take somebody else's ball and that starts a fight. Some kids sneak back in line after they get their first lunch to get another one. And they fight in the classrooms. Most of my friends are used to fightin' each other. If you don't fight, you may lose your friends.

The behavioral norm for fighting as expressed by this child was reinforced by statements from other students who said:

> I would like to change the fightin'. Kids fight in the hall, and when we eat lunch. In our classrooms people be stealin' our money.
>
> I would change the fightin'. Some kids talk about your mother and stuff. They pick fights and push kids into each other.
>
> The fightin'. We be playing and someone takes my ball. I hit them and then we fight.

In a Student Council meeting which was held in January, 1977, the student representatives identified ways in which they would like to improve their school. Among the problems which they identified were the following:

1. Too much fighting on the playground and in classrooms.
2. Some children don't cooperate with the teachers and with each other.

When asked to think of possible solutions for the problems, a student suggested that "Children and teachers should be friendly and talk out their problems."

The adults at Cassody School did not find the solution so simple. This was partly due to a relatively recent School Board ruling which abolished corporal punishment in the Silver Lake School District. The following is an excerpt from a letter sent to parents by the principal of Cassody School:

> Beginning November 1, 1975, all pupils in the Silver Lake School District will not receive corporal punishment (paddling) in the schools as determined by the Silver Lake School Board. We have never used this form of discipline as a major approach to change unacceptable behavior at Cassody School. However, the pupils were aware that corporal punishment would be administered after all other methods of discipline had proved ineffective.

When the policy to abolish corporal punishment was initiated in 1975, a contingent of parents representing the Cassody School Advisory Council appeared before the School Board to protest its enactment in inner-city schools. Negotiations by groups of inner-city parents were still being conducted with the Board during the course of this study. It was felt by some people at Cassody School that the policy was about to be changed to permit corporal punishment in those schools where parents wished to delegate such authority to school personnel.

Aides at Cassody School were very outspoken about the corporal punishment ruling. Of the many statements which were made on the subject, the following comments demonstrate the extent to which local norms for dealing with children were perceived to be violated by the School Board ruling:

> The "no swat" law is the worst thing that ever happened. The office can only talk to the kids. The kids have to fear somebody or something. If they know that they are going to be punished if they aren't good they will behave. The kids don't fear anybody now.
>
> The behavior of the children is worse than it has been in the past. Before they knew that if they did anything wrong, they would get it. When the Board sent the notice home to parents about discontinuing capital punishment, the kids memorized it word for word and they say it back. The behavior is terrible and getting worse. They need to leave it up to the school as to how to punish the children.

It was rumored that some black teachers continued to "swat" the children, and that others got written permission from parents to do so as a way of threatening children who tested their authority. Neither of these allegations was verified by the researcher. A number of black teachers initiated the subject of corporal punishment but in general their statements were much more cautious than those of the aides. Of these comments, the following statement best illustrates the sense of helplessness that was felt by those who believed that the children who attended Cassody School responded positively to physical punishment:

> When I started teaching, I came with all that beautiful psychology that I learned in school. As a new teacher I had all kinds of discipline problems. The principal then came in and told me, "If you don't teach, then you must get control." Our boys and girls respond to firmness. Fairness, but firmness. Those that I had to swat have often come back from junior high to see me. It was the way that I did it. They realized that I was not angry with them. . . that I was interested in their achievement. If a teacher is not firm with these children they consider him or her weak. The children would rather for me to get the paddle than to get on the phone and call home.
>
> Now I don't get the same results. The parent can't give you the respect that you need to work with the children. You have to get that for yourself. Now I waste too much time. I am not getting the teaching done that I used to. I am spending too much time giving directions over and over. This bothers me.
>
> Now there is nothing that we can really do in the classroom. And there is nothing that can be done at the next higher level. So what is the big deal with getting sent to the office. No one in the school really has any authority. It is just bedlam.

The behavior of the children at Cassody School and attitudes toward how to discipline them represented a distinct difference between the the values and norms of the new white teachers at Cassody School and the black teachers and aides who talked about the subject. One white teacher summarized her feelings as follows:

> The white teacher was not properly conditioned to come to the black community to teach. We needed to know about the actual problems of the inner-city that black teachers know about. For example, the children are so physical. In my other school if a child had one fight he was expelled for three days. When the children were told to stay in an area to play, they did. These children ignore authority. We need information on ways to cope with this. I'm not used to teaching cross. The black teachers spank. I wouldn't ever spank a child. But some-

> times the only way to stop them from doing something to each other is to physically pick them up.

These concerns were reiterated by another teacher who recognized her personal conflict with the norms of the community:

> The issue of discipline is disturbing to me. I have hit my own kids, but I don't like to do it as a general rule. In this community, hitting is the way that children are controlled.

Finally, another white teacher equated the way in which children are disciplined at home directly to the fighting problems which occurred at the school:

> It seems from talking to the kids and from listening to the aides that the most common way of parents handling kids is to beat them. The kids do the same thing by fighting.

It is illustrated in various parts of this study that discipline is a tangible way for parents and other citizens to judge the effectiveness of the school itself. However, two diametrically opposing factors seem to be operating at Cassody School. On the one hand, parents were protesting the Board's abolishment of corporal punishment. At the same time, new staff members whose values conflicted with those of the community were arriving at the school. The resolution of actual or potential conflict which arises around these and similar issues is one of the goals of a planned home-school-community relations program.

Summary

Cassody School is one of a large number of schools in the Silver Lake School District. The district is divided into administrative units which include regions, sections, and local schools. Cassody School is located in the Sentry Section, an area which is nearly synonymous with the black community of Traceway. The Sentry Section is part of Region 1, a larger area which experienced increased enrollments and a large influx of Spanish-speaking families. In contrast to the general demographic trend in Region 1, schools in the Sentry section are experiencing a loss of enrollment and little change in racial composition.

The size of the Silver Lake School District enables the district to provide a wide variety of specialized services and personnel to local schools. At the same time, decision making regarding policies, budgets, and programs is centralized at the district level. Basic services and personnel are allocated to regional offices and local schools on the basis of enrollment. Regional offices administer and coordinate basic district programs and specially funded programs.

Organizational arrangements at Cassody School are based on a variation of the multiunit structure which is suggested by the system of Individually Guided Education (IGE). In addition to the principal, personnel at the school include 30 classroom teachers, 14 classroom aides, 4 subject matter specialists, and 4 coordinators. The staff also includes 24 classified employees other than classroom aides. A nurse is at the school for four and one-half days each week. There are seven other district employees assigned to the school on a part-time basis. A total of 718 students is enrolled at the school.

Findings

The following significant findings emerged from the data in this chapter:

1. The assignment of numerous new teachers to Cassody School before and during the course of this study created stress and instability within the school organization.
2. District-wide policies on corporal punishment and teacher desegregation were perceived to disregard the needs and norms of the local school.
3. Attitudes toward corporal punishment differed between the new white teachers at Cassody School and those black teachers and aides who discussed the subject with the researcher.

These findings have implications for the home-school-community relations processes discussed in Chapters VI through VIII. The following chapter describes the instructional and home-school-community relations program at Cassody School.

CHAPTER V

PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA: THE INSTRUCTIONAL AND HOME-SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAMS AT CASSODY SCHOOL

The Silver Lake School District provides basic educational programs for all of the schools in the district. In addition, it administers a variety of special programs which are funded from sources outside of the district. Among those which are implemented at Cassody School, Title I of the Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA Title I) and the State Primary Education Growth (PEG) Program have had the greatest impact on both instruction and home-school-community relations. Guidelines for both are specifically outlined by the State Department of Education. While the two programs have different funding sources and the PEG program is designed primarily for children in primary grades, the guidelines and processes for implementing the programs are similar.

ESEA Title I and Primary Education Growth (PEG) Programs

According to the Region 1 Coordinator of Compensatory Education Programs, the following criteria are used to determine which schools in the district receive Title I funds:

> Schools are ranked throughout the district on the basis of the following criteria: (1) the number

of children on free lunch, (2) family income,
(3) the number of families on welfare, and
(4) the assessed valuation of single family
dwellings in the school neighborhood.

Cassody School was among the most eligible schools in the district for Title I funds when this study was conducted. The following qualifying statistics for 1975-1976 were available from the school:

--The average family income in the school neighborhood is $5,469.

--The average assessed valuation of the few single family residences in the community is $1,824.

--Nearly 93 percent of the pupils are receiving AFDC (Aid for Families of Dependent Children).

--The transiency rate at the school is 48 percent.

--Tardiness involves 5 percent of the enrollment.

--Absences reach 50 percent during cold and rainy months.

--One-third of the students receive assistance from Title I and community agencies for clothing support to continue in school.

On the basis of these statistics, Cassody School receives a sizeable allocation of funds to provide a compensatory education program in addition to the basic programs provided by the district. Utilizing guidelines set forth by the state, the school is responsible for developing a budget and administering a program of instruction to meet the needs of the students at the school.

The Primary Education Growth (PEG) Program is a comprehensive effort to restructure the primary grades of schools throughout the state by encouraging team teaching and other alternative organizational patterns. This program is not limited to schools which serve children of low socioeconomic status. The focus of the program is on improved instruction and higher academic achievement. A school, such as Cassody, which receives both Title I and PEG funds submits a consolidated program application to the district and to the state which accounts for all special funds coming into the school. The expenditure of designated funds is noted in the budget. However, the actual program plan at Cassody does not make a distinction between the two programs except where required by differing guidelines.

The program planning process for local schools is included in the state guidelines. These guidelines specify that both staff members and parents must be involved in identifying needs, setting goals and objectives, and evaluating the program. Procedures for program planning are based on an outline of activities which include the following elements:

--A description of existing conditions for each component

--Specific goals

--An analysis of discrepancies between existing conditions and goals

--Program objectives

--Activities to meet the objectives

--A timeline for carrying out the objectives

--Evaluation procedures including type of evaluation instrument, method of evaluation, and position or name of person responsible for evaluation

The written program and accompanying budget must be approved by the school advisory council, and is submitted to Region 1 and district officials before being forwarded to the State Department of Education. Programs at local schools are evaluated on the basis of written reports at the end of each school year. In addition, a State Research and Evaluation (R/E) Team visits schools throughout the state to verify the implementation of programs which have been submitted. The R/E Team was scheduled to visit Cassody School for two days in February, 1977.

The Instructional Program

The instructional program at Cassody School is largely shaped by the guidelines for the Title I and PEG programs and by the educational philosophy of the principal of the school, Mrs. Boone. While it appears that Mrs. Boone would have provided leadership for a similar program under any circumstances, it is apparent that without the stimulus of state guidelines and added funding the program existing at the school would be sharply curtailed.

State guidelines cite the following goal for compensatory education programs:

> The major goal of the compensatory education program in the state is to increase the academic achievement level of all eligible project participants.

Procedures for meeting this goal are explicitly outlined. Schools which receive compensatory funds are required to develop programs which focus on specific instructional components: Language Development, Reading, Mathematics, and Multicultural Education. Instructional processes for these components are also defined:

> Individualized instruction developed through ongoing assessment and resulting prescriptive teaching is the cornerstone of compensatory education in Silver Lake schools.

The operationalization of the preceding definition is left to the individual school. The instructional program at Cassody School has been developed around a nucleus of concepts which include an organizational structure suggested by the system of Individually Guided Education, and a management system which is tied to the Wisconsin Design for Reading Skill Development.[1] Three aspects of the instructional program at Cassody School are described below. These include curriculum, organization for instruction, and instructional programming for individual children.

Curriculum

The instructional program at Cassody School is based on four curriculum components which are required by state guidelines, and five optional components which are specified by the school. The required components include Reading, Language Arts, Mathematics, and Multicultural Education. The optional components are Individually Guided Motivation, Psychomotor Development, Extended Reading, Horizontal Organization of Skills, and Career Awareness. Curriculum subjects which are required by the state education code, and are not cited in the lists above are subsumed under the Horizontal Organization of Skills. The following statements of goals are excerpts taken from the written program for this component:

---

[1] The Wisconsin Design for Reading Skill Development is an objective-based management system for teaching reading skills.

> All teachers will participate in a scheduled block of instructional time (about 90 minutes weekly), and utilize the interdisciplinary approach that stresses the integration of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values between and among the arts as well as between the arts and academics.
>
> All students will assess their self-potentials and purposefully plan to integrate the learning experiences of specific subjects with broader areas of curricula, like social and natural science, creative and industrial arts, music and drama, health, physical education and safety.

Until January, 1977, and in preceding years, the school has employed a curriculum coordinator whose responsibilities have included the evaluation of instructional materials in existence in the school and those to be purchased in relation to the objectives of the program. During the course of this study the coordinator and the principal, with the help of resource specialists, wrote a life science teaching module to accompany the science book which was being used at the school. The purpose of the module was to provide a resource for teachers in their efforts to integrate science content with the basic skills being taught in the program.

Instructional Programming for Individual Pupils

Instructional programming for individual students is based on extensive pre-testing which occurs during the first two or three weeks of the school year. Homogeneous skill groups throughout the year are formed on the basis of the results of these tests and teacher judgment. The skill groups for reading, language arts, and mathematics function on three week cycles. For example, a child is placed in a group, taught for three weeks, and given a post-test to measure his or her skill attainment. At the end of the cycle the child may be reassigned to the same group if the skill has not been mastered. If mastery has occurred, the child is assigned to a higher level skill group on the subject continuum.

Organization for Instruction

The instructional program is based on classroom and team organizational patterns in which children are assigned to both homogeneous and heterogeneous multi-grade groups for instruction. Each homeroom within the PEG or the intermediate units is comprised of children who are assigned to at least two, and most often, three grade levels. Instruction in reading, language arts, and mathematics takes place in homogeneous skill groups formed within each team. All other instruction takes place in the heterogeneous homerooms.

The weekly schedule for instruction in grades one to three is shown in Table 7. All children report to their homerooms at 8:30 daily. Attendance is taken and other organizational routines are performed until 8:45. Between 8:45 and 11:30 from Monday through Thursday all teachers on a team teach the same skills on differing instructional levels. The children move between skill groups at the designated times.

TABLE 7

WEEKLY SCHEDULE

GRADES 1-3

	Daily	Monday	←				→	Thursday	Friday
	8:30-8:45	8:45-9:30	9:30-10:00	10:00-10:20	10:20-11:30	11:30-12:30	12:30-1:40	1:40-2:30*	A.M & 12:30-1:10
Teams A and B	Oral Language (opening exercises)	IGE Comprehension Skills	IGE Word Attack Skills	Recess	Math Skills	Lunch	Study Skills (M-T) Language Development (M-Th)	3rd Graders -Language -Math -Reading -Vocabulary Development	Horizontal Organization of Skills -Multicultural Education -Social Studies -Study Skills -Art -Science -Health -Physical Education -Career Education -Psychomotor
									1:10-2:30
									Co-curricular Activities

*Team Meetings: Team A - Wednesday, 1:40-2:30

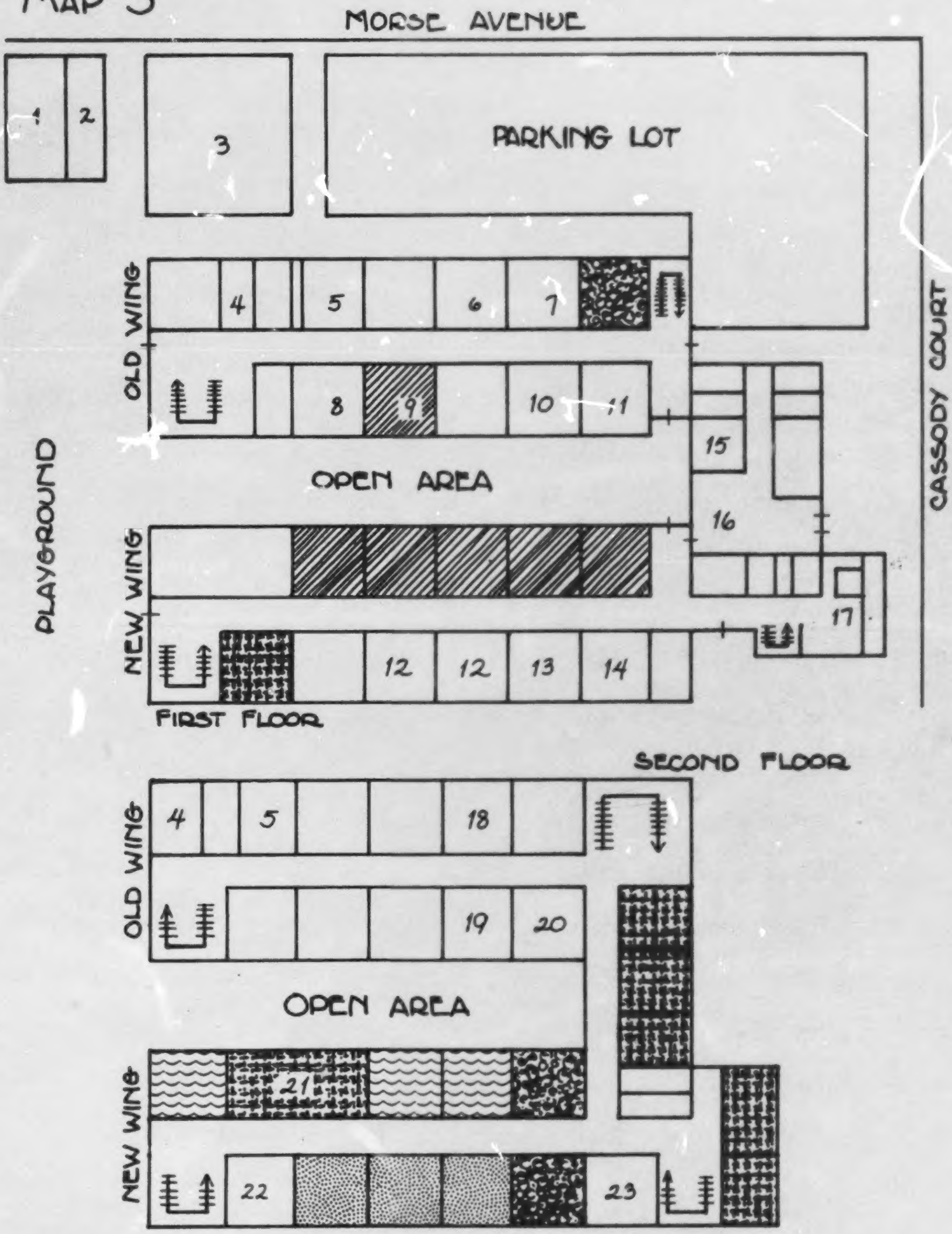
Team B - Thursday, 1:40-2:30

For example, a girl in Team B (See Map 3) will first report to her home room. Then she goes to a room occupied by a teacher on that team to learn a comprehension skill. At 9:25 the child moves to another room for word attack skills. At 10:00 she goes outside for recess. At 10:20 she reenters the building and goes directly to a math skill group. During these instructional periods some children also report to the PEG reading lab, to the extended reading room, or to the math resource room. The movement involved for each child depends on his or her instructional program. It is possible for a child to stay with one teacher for more than one skill period. It is also possible that the child has classes only on the second floor of the building. Others may move for each skill group and/or move between floors.

When the children return from lunch at 12:30 they go to their homerooms where they receive instruction in heterogeneous groups. The first and second graders go home at 1:40. The third graders stay in their homerooms to study the skills listed on the schedule.

Until January, 1977, all of the children worked in their homerooms for the entire day on Fridays. Emphasis was on the skills listed in the weekly schedule. In January, 1977, a school-wide program of club activities was initiated. Activities which were scheduled during this time are listed in Appendix M. All children in grades one through six moved to rooms throughout the building in which their selected clubs were meeting. First and second graders went home at 1:30 and the remainder of the children stayed in their clubs until they were dismissed at 2:30.

MAP 3


MORSE AVENUE
1
2
3
PARKING LOT
CASSODY COURT
PLAYGROUND
OLD WING
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
15
OPEN AREA
16
NEW WING
17
12
12
13
14
FIRST FLOOR
SECOND FLOOR
OLD WING
4
5
18
19
20
OPEN AREA
NEW WING
21
22
23

▨ TEAM A
▦ TEAM B
▩ TEAM D
▒ TEAM E
≋ TEAM F

1. Cafeteria
2. Dining Room
3. Multi purpose room
4. Boys Restroom
5. Girls Restroom
6. Music
7. Parents meeting room
8. Title I Reading Lab
9. Team A Reading Lab
10. Math Lab
11. 4-5-6 EMR
12. Kindergarten
13. K-1
14. Preschool
15. Principal
16. Office
17. Library
18. Title I Reading Room
19. Title I Math Lab
20. Title I Lab
21. Team B Reading Lab
22. PEG Extended Reading
23. Guidance Class

The weekly schedule for children in grades four through six is shown in Table 8. Organizational procedures were similar to those of the primary grades. All the teachers in a team taught the same skills at the same time in the morning to homogeneous skill groups. Children remained in their homerooms for instruction during the afternoon and on Friday until the club activities were initiated.

During the times which are designated as team meeting times in the two tables, children were supervised by aides and/or resource personnel in small or large group activities.

Issues Related to the Instructional Program

It will be shown in a later chapter that the instructional program at Cassody School was a source of concern to teachers at the school since its inception. With the advent of staff desegregation and the resultant myriad of staffing changes, concerns about the program were probably magnified due to the added stress placed on "experienced" teachers and aides as well as on those who were new to the school. Yet, the fact remains that the instructional program at a school has the potential to provide supports or constraints to positive home-school-community relations. It is with that research objective in mind that the following in-school issues were identified and explored.

Movement of Children

The issue of children moving from skill group to skill group three times each day was undoubtedly the most common concern of people at the school. The reasons for this concern seemed to center on the amount

TABLE 8

WEEKLY SCHEDULE

GRADES 4-6

Team	Daily	Monday ←→ Thursday			Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday **	Thursday	Friday		
	8:30-8:45	8:45-9:30	9:30-10:30	10:50-12:00	1:10-2:30	1:10-2:30	1:10-2:30	1:10-2:30	8:30-10:30	10:50-12:10	1:10-2:30
D	OPENING	IGE READING Work Attack Vocabulary building	IGE READING Comprehension	IGE MATH 1. Computation 2. Concept and Application	*LANGUAGE Spelling Social Studies Language	*SOCIAL STUDIES Cultural Study Skills Language Art	*LANGUAGE Spelling Social Studies Career Education	*SCIENCE Health Social Studies Language-Spelling	*STUDY SKILLS Social Studies Art	*PHYS. ED. Health Science	All Teams
E	EXERCISES	IGE MATH 1. Computation 2. Concepts and Application	IGE READING Word Attack Vocabulary Building	IGE READING Comprehension	*LANGUAGE Spelling Social Studies	*SOCIAL STUDIES *Multi-Cultural Study Skills Art	*LANGUAGE Spelling Social Studies Career Education	*SCIENCE Health Social Studies Language Spelling	*STUDY SKILLS Social Studies Art	*PHYS. ED. Health Art	Student Selected Enrichment Activities
F		IGE READING Comprehension	IGE MATH 1. Computation 2. Concepts and Application	IGE READING Word Attack Vocabulary Building	*LANGUAGE Spelling Social Studies	*SOCIAL STUDIES *Multi-Cultural Study Skills Art	*LANGUAGE Spelling Social Studies Career Education	*SCIENCE Health Social Studies Language Spelling	*STUDY SKILLS Social Studies Art	*PHYS. ED. Health Art	

*Major Discipline (Horizontal Organization of Skills)

**Team Meetings: 2:00 -- Team D - Wednesday
Team E - Thursday
Team F - Thursday

having children change groups so frequently, on the belief that inner-city children need a more structured learning environment, and on the role that movement played in creating discipline problems at the school.

Loss of Teaching Time

The people in the school who were most adamant in their statements about the loss of teaching time were the aides. Their comments covered a broad range of examples from their own experiences. One person compared the school to when she had older children at Cassody:

> When my older children were here I really liked the school. There was more teaching time. Now half of the teaching time is wasted in moving.

Another aide spoke about a problem which was mentioned frequently by primary teachers when she said:

> I would like IGE if it would be refined to take out some of the movement. The little kids can't remember to write their names, let alone what three different rooms they should go to in the morning.

Still another aide related the loss of teaching time to the individual needs of children for learning with this statement:

> Some kids are learning and some are not. Some should move and some shouldn't. By the time that some of them get started with their work it is time to leave.

A teacher summarized the feelings at the school concerning the relationship of the movement between groups and the loss of teaching time as follows:

> Teachers, parents who are working here, and I myself have complained about the small blocks of time that are available for teaching. There are too many half hour blocks. Movement continues to be an issue when the children waste alot of time getting from one room to another.

Review of Tables 7 and 8 reveals no half hour teaching blocks as part of the schedules. The amount of time it takes children to move from room to room is of concern to teachers and aides. For those who travel long distances between rooms the time taken may be legitimate. However, the common belief is that the little children don't always remember where to go, and others simply linger along the way. It is the latter concern which is related to the belief that discipline problems are created by the frequent moving.

Discipline

To illustrate the effect that movement has on the discipline, one teacher made this statement:

> There is too much moving. The children are not learning. They waste so much time going back and forth. They are in the air all day long. They are hitting and playing with each other in the halls. All this movement causes poor discipline. It is hard to settle the children down.

Taking this teacher's argument in a full circle, it was the inability to get the children "settled down" when they came to a new group that was also perceived to be a cause for shortened teaching time.

A teacher who was new to the school related the movement of skill groups, not only on a daily basis, but on the three-week cycle to the difficulty which she experienced in maintaining control of her classroom when she said:

> The first three weeks, my class and I really took to each other. We were self-contained. When we started switching classes is when the discipline really got bad. There was no time to get to know any one group of kids. A teacher has to establish a reputation so that the kids know what will happen if they go past her limits.

A teacher who had been at Cassody School for several years supported the contention that short teaching periods and short teaching cycles which caused children to move from teacher to teacher frequently added to discipline problems in her room:

> Discipline problems are tied to the implementation of the program. I work through content. The kids are contantly being snatched away. I never get anything going that can last. My technique is control through using content which is so appealing. . . something which appeals to you personally.

It was felt by a number of people that the reason the children had so much difficulty coping with the movement between groups was related to the environment in their homes and the community. Those who took this point of view seemed to believe that the school was simply reinforcing the chaotic life styles of inner-city families and that the children needed a more structured learning environment.

Learning Environment

Teachers and aides used many examples of student behavior to illustrate that the children were unable to cope with the amount of movement that was expected of them. A frequent illustration such as that which follows was given by primary teachers:

> My children cried this morning when they had to move to another group. They are secure in having a structured program with one teacher. Some of them are still just getting ready to go to school (December), and they are not ready for so many teachers.

An intermediate teacher did not feel that the problem was related only to the younger children. This view was supported by the following statement:

> Many of the children are very insecure. There is only one parent in the home. They are raising themselves. Any program that you try to work is going to be more difficult. But in this program they are floating around so much. They need someone to latch on to. The children complain. Many times they don't want to leave. They ask, "Why do we have to move so much?" They are glad when it is Friday and they can stay in one room.

An aide expressed her concern about the effects of movement on the children by drawing from her own experiences:

> I lived in Parkwood Village for five years. I've seen how the kids are being raised. There are not too many fathers in the homes. The families constantly move out and come back. They are moving from the time they are born. They don't learn anything at home with all that moving and they don't learn anything at school by moving either. People at the school don't know what goes on over in that Project with all the broken homes, dope, and police raiding. If they want to come in and raid you, even if you haven't done anything, they come in. These kids need security. This program brings down children, instead of helping them up.

The concern expressed by teachers and aides about the movement of children and the working hypothesis that children were communication links with the community prompted the researcher to randomly select 13 children from the intermediate unit to answer two questions: (1) What do you like about this school? and (2) What would you change at this school? If the subject of movement between classes was not mentioned by the child, a third question was asked: (3) How do you feel about moving for skill groups?

None of the children initiated the subject of moving in response to the first question. Four children listed it among the things that they did not like about the school. The remainder of the children commented on the subject when they were asked a direct question about the procedure.

The four children who did not like the movement made the following statements:

> I don't like rotating because most of our time is spent out in the hall. It do not make any sense to change. We can learn the same thing in the room. Everybody in my class feels the same way.
>
> I don't like rotating. I wish we could stay in our own classes. There are too many hassles. The kids push and shove in the halls.
>
> I don't like to move. I like Fridays best.
>
> I hate moving. You don't learn anything. You spend all your time standing in the hall.

The children who responded to a direct question about the movement made statements such as these:

> I like rotating, but some kids run and talk in the halls.
>
> All we doin' is movin' so we can get some skills so we can get a job. I think we should move on Fridays.
>
> It's fun to move. But sometimes I like to stay in my class.
>
> I like moving because we get to do some new things.
>
> It's nice. A child can get a lot of different skills. Some kids make noise and we should be a little quieter. A lot of kids stop at the bathroom.

Obviously, the opinions of these few children were divided on whether they "liked" to move. However, it is apparent that there was an awareness among these respondents that the behavior of the children in the halls was not always appropriate for the situation.

Restricted Teaching Modes

Another of the issues which emerged with clarity within the school was the feeling that the instructional program restricted the teaching methods that were used in the school. This grievance was marked with subtleties related to the decision making processes in the school, an issue which is dealt with more extensively in relationship to the process of resolution. However, there seemed to be two areas of concern about this topic. The first was related to the amount of time devoted to testing and the second to the actual mode of teaching as advocated by the principal.

Testing

The extensive pre- and post-testing that was conducted to place children in appropriate skill groups was seen as consuming so much time that little actual teaching could be done within the three week learning cycles that were part of the program. In this respect an aide said:

> All the children do is take tests. They never get the basics. They never have to read. Those children are so confused. Many of the second graders don't know that they have a first, middle, and last name. They don't know that B comes before C, or that 3 comes before 4. If you read them a story and ask them what you said, they can't tell you. They can't even talk right.

A teacher who had been at the school for a number of years supported the idea that the skill actually being taught by the instructional program was one of how to take tests when she made this statement:

> They take all these tests and they can pass them, but the children just cannot read. Wisconsin teaches children to pass tests. They get to be just like little computers. They are test takers.

The amount of testing that was required by the program was also related to a grievance about the amount of time that was spent on record-keeping. This aspect of teacher responsibility, in turn, contributed to resentment toward the lack of preparation time that was available for making plans and preparing instructional materials for frequently changing instructional groups.

Uniformity in Teaching

There was much evidence to indicate that teachers were expected to follow certain teaching standards that were not set at the classroom or unit level. In this respect, a teacher said:

> Teachers feel that they are always being told what to do. They are told how to teach, and what to teach.

This viewpoint was reinforced by a person who said,

> The way that the program is, is what you will do. You will teach certain skills, and you will teach them in a certain way.

Teachers who felt that they should be permitted to determine the best way in which to teach a skill were adamant in their feelings about the lack of integrated learning that occurred as children moved from learning center to learning center, and from skill group to skill group. In this respect one person said:

> I am frustrated because nobody is reading. All the children do is work at skill centers and do worksheets. You can teach long and short vowel sounds, but they don't know how to use them to read. They can't read.

When asked if others felt the way she did, the preceding respondent said:

> 100 percent of them feel the same way. We're all frustrated with the program

The perceived lack of freedom to decide what was going to be done in the classroom was illustrated by one of the new teachers at the school who made this statement:

> At the beginning of the year I thought that I was going to lose my mind before we started teaching. The children were being tested for half of each day. But there were no supplies to do anything for the other times, and they (coordinator and principal) didn't want us to teach any skills. So it was teaching off the top of the head, and wasted time.

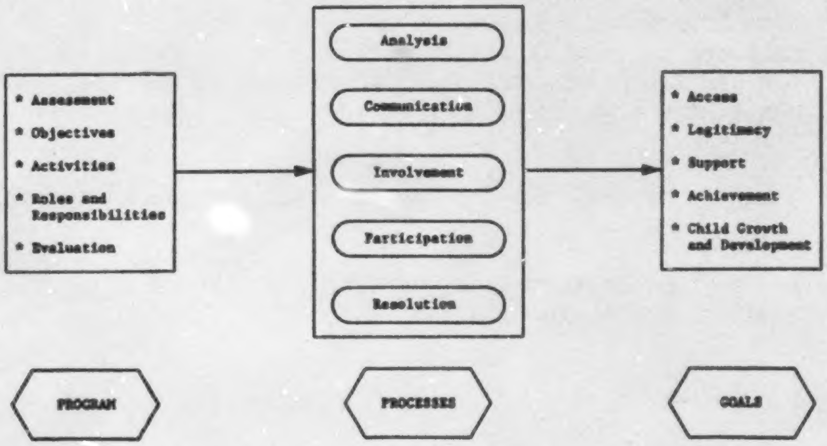
The implications of the issues related to the instructional program at Cassody School will be discussed in later chapters which deal with home-school-community relations processes.

The Home-School-Community Relations Program

The Programmatic Model for Home-School-Community Relations (Figure 3) grew out of research at the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning.

FIGURE 3

PROGRAMMATIC MODEL FOR HOME-SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS



* Assessment
* Objectives
* Activities
* Roles and Responsibilities
* Evaluation
Analysis
Communication
Involvement
Participation
Resolution
* Access
* Legitimacy
* Support
* Achievement
* Child Growth and Development
PROGRAM
PROCESSES
GOALS

Developed by B. Dean Bowles, Marvin J. Fruth, Lois I. Bartels, M. Lynn Karges, and Hillel I. Raskas. Home-School-Community Relations Project, Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, Madison, Wisconsin, 1976.

Studies which preceded the research reported in this paper indicated that participating schools conducted a loosely organized set of activities that were non-programmatic in nature. In contrast, utilizing the model as an organizing rationale for observation and interpretation of home-school-community relations activities, it was found in this study that a number of activities at Cassody School were congruent with the programmatic approach which is outlined in the model. As with the instructional program at the school, the manifestly programmatic home-school-community relations activities can largely be attributed to the influence of the Title I and PEG programs which were operationalized at the school.

In addition to the instructional components in the school program which are mandated by state guidelines, emphasis was also placed on four support components: Staff Development, Parent Participation, Parent Education, and Health/Auxiliary services which include counseling, health, and attendance assistance. Two of these components, Parent Involvement and Parent Education, provide the focal point for planned home-school-community relations activities at Cassody School. Related activities were included in other components, but they were not aimed primarily at home-school-community relations goals.

Long Range Goals

The Home-School-Community Relations Model identifies five goals which may be viewed as desired outcomes of a planned home-school-community relations program. These goals are stated and defined as follows:

1. Access is a goal of the model which provides for optimal interactions among community subpublics and the school as an institution.

2. Legitimacy is a goal of the model which assures the acceptance, trust, and the efficacy of the public school as an institution by its various subpublics.

3. Support is a goal of the model which provides for the economic and political resources by various subpublics in the school community sufficient to achieve the primary mission of the school as an institution.

4. Achievement is a goal of the model which provides for optimal student performance in cognitive learning and basic skills.

5. Child growth and development is a goal of the model which provides for optimal physical, social, and emotional maturity of pupils.

The philosophy for parent involvement in the Title I and PEG Programs is exemplified by the following statements which have been annotated by the researcher to identify the goals which are included in the Home-School-Community Relations Model:

> The partnership that should exist between home and school can have many facets--and many benefits. Traditionally such groups as Parent-Teacher Associations and Home and School Associations offered support, both financial and moral, to individual schools. Today many parents are beginning to take a more active role in the school system. Some are employed as office workers or teacher aides. Others volunteer their services to help in the classroom, correct papers, or supervise lunchroom or playground activities. [Involvement leads to support for the school, and access to the school as an organization.]
>
> Such help lowers the pupil-teacher ratio, thus providing for more individual attention, and also frees teachers for better planning. [Support in

> the form of additional human resources will lead to improved pupil achievement.]
>
> Whatever type of parental involvement exists, the end result should be furthering the educational opportunities and achievement for children. [Pupil achievement and child growth and development are the goals of parent involvement.]
>
> There is a subsidiary asset of parental involvement, one which deals with the age-old problem of motivation. As children see their own parents more involved in school affairs, they will be encouraged to take a more active interest in school. They will have less opportunity for playing home against school and vice versa. [Parents who are involved at the school will support the school's goals, thus giving the school legitimacy and leading to improved pupil achievement.]
>
> Parental involvement offers the school administrator a number of ways for improving public confidence. . . Parents involved with the schools can do much to reinforce positive impressions or correct negative attitudes (of other community members). They are part of the community and, as such, know the attitudes of their neighbors. [Parents who are involved at the school can interpret school goals to other citizens, thus legitimizing the role of the school in the community.][2]

To summarize, the philosophy which provides the stimulus for school-community relations at Cassody School suggests that parents who have access to the school will internalize the goals of the school, thus generating support and providing legitimacy for the school. The statements also imply that parent involvement will motivate students to higher levels of achievement as well as provide assistance leading to improved child growth and development. This philosophy was exemplified in a statement by the principal of Cassody concerning advisory council membership:

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[2] United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Parental Involvement in Title I ESEA (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 1-2.

> I would like to have the parents of the children who are functioning at the twenty-fifth percentile and below (on the council) so that they could be knowledgeable, know what the goals are, and get involved. Then they would be motivated to help their children at home.

Another employee indicated that parent involvement would lead to support for and legitimacy of the role of the school by encouraging improved behavior on the part of the students.

> If they (parents) show an interest, it carries over to the children. If a parent understands the (instructional) program better, they can stand behind the school. They can let children know that they want them to cooperate with the teachers. If children know that their parents are not here or they don't come to school we get negative vibes from the children.

Programmatic Elements and Processes

The philosophical framework which encourages parent involvement and parent education at Cassody School is manifestly oriented toward the processes which are identified in the Home-School-Community Relations Model as communication, involvement, and participation. Due to the guidelines for planning compensatory education programs, activities in the Parent Education and Parent Involvement components are programmatic in nature. Excerpts from the Parent Involvement component which are shown in Table 9 illustrate the programmatic elements of the plan. A complete description of the programmatic activities for home-school-community relations at Cassody School is included in succeeding chapters of this paper.

Non-Programmatic Elements and Processes

In addition to those home-school-community relations activities at Cassody School which are planned as a part of the school program, this study also revealed a number of non-programmatic elements of activity which must be considered a part of the total program. For example, communication occurs between the school and the community in informal ways. Yet, regardless of its latent characteristics, this communication process also influences relationships between the home and the community. In like fashion, the process of analysis and resolution of actual or potential conflict, as they are defined by the Model, did not emerge in the study as programmatic elements. Yet, exploration of related data suggests that they were latent elements in the total program at the school.

Other Influences on the Home-School-Community Relations Program

In addition to requiring a programmatic approach to the components of the compensatory education program at Cassody School, district and state guidelines had other influences on the nature of home-school-

TABLE 9

EXCERPTS FROM THE PARENT INVOLVEMENT COMPONENT

Existing Condition (One of nine statements)	Goal (One of nine statements)	Discrepancy (One of nine Statements)	Analysis (Summary Statement)
Advisory Council minutes for 1975-1976 school year indicate that 40% of parents of pupils in grade Preschool-6 participate actively in developing a needs assessment, and the program planning model.	To involve all parents and representatives of the community to work with teachers and all interested personnel from the very beginning in planning the kind of program depending on the needs of the children in the area.	60% of the parents are not involved in the initial assessment of their children's educational program.	Less than 100% parent participation in the educational program has been caused by several factors, including: -High rate of theft and vandalism in the community -Lack of child care and babysitting facilities -Apathy on the part of some parents -Lack of adequate knowledge concerning the program -Communicating bulletins to parents given to their children by the teacher are lost on the way home in many cases -Difficulty of participation by working parents

TABLE 9 (Continued)

Program Objective (One of four statements)	Major Solution Procedures Activities (One of 14 multi-faceted statements)	Event Schedule	Evaluation Plan Type of Eval. Instrument	Method	Responsible Person
All parents will be aware of the program and will have received 50 percent more organized information for events and school objectives than 1975-76 by May, 1977, as determined by school records of news released to community papers, bulletin announcements, teacher home visits, telephone calls, and invitations.	The Advisory Council, with consent of the Staff Association will negotiate with the Area Superintendent for one shortened day per month for teacher home visits	May-June	Schedules, Checklists Records Reports	On-going	Advisory Council, PTA, Staff

for advisory councils at local schools, the sanctioned use of funds for hiring paraprofessionals, and encouragement for the use of volunteers as a means of providing a ratio of one adult to ten children in PEG classrooms.

The Advisory Council

One of the incentives for decentralization of the Silver Lake School District was a desire for more citizen participation through advising in educational matters. Thus, the school board initiated a policy in which each local school was required to have a school-community advisory council. The District Office of Urban Affairs is responsible for assisting schools in forming local school-community advisory councils. Working out of the Office of Urban Affairs, community relations advisors are assigned to each school to serve as liaison people between the community and the school. Each school elects a representative to a regional advisory council. This group serves the regional superintendent in the same capacity as the council at the local school serves the principal. District level advisory committees are formed on an ad hoc basis to deal with specific issues and concerns.

Schools which have Title I programs and PEG programs are required to have advisory councils made up of a specified number of parents who have children in these programs. A school may have one advisory council which meets the criteria for all programs. Chairpersons of

Title I advisory councils meet monthly with the Compensatory Education Coordinator at the Region 1 office.

The role of the Advisory Council at Cassody School will be discussed in Chapter 8 in relationship to the home-school-community relations process of participation.

Paraprofessionals

The primary role for paraprofessionals at Cassody School was that of educational aide. The state guidelines address the use of educational aides in local schools as follows:

> The teacher load in Title I projects may be reduced through the use of teacher aides. Aides must be recruited actively from among residents of the target areas, especially residents who are parents of participating children.

When the aide program was initiated in Silver Lake, aides were recruited and trained by the local school to perform a variety of instructional and clerical services both within and outside of the classrooms. This concept of hiring aides from the school neighborhood was aborted before this study began as a result of union intervention. According to a Region 1 official:

> About two years ago the union which now represents the aides negotiated with the district saying that aide positions are permanent positions, and that they should come under the seniority system. This eliminated the local school concept. Now aides are placed by the personnel office within a certain geographical boundary based on seniority.

Cassody School did not appear to be seriously affected by this new arrangement for placing aides. Most of those aides who were employed by the school lived in the neighborhood or in near-by communities which bordered Traceway. Many of those in the latter category had previously lived in Traceway and continued to have connections in the community as a result of ongoing friendships with neighbors or as a result of continuing activity in local churches.

The aides had an important role in the home-school-community relations program at Cassody School. Their roles as classroom assistants provided them with many opportunities to observe and participate in the internal relations within the school. Those who still had children in the school formed the nucleus for parent involvement and participation activities. As a result of these activities, they were important informal communication links between the school and the community.

Cassody School also employed other paraprofessionals, most of whom lived in the community. These included aides who supervised the playground and the eating areas, and two aides with the designated title of Community Representatives. While Community Representatives were not hired until December, 1976, they played an important role in home-school-community relations. Specific descriptions of their activities are provided in succeeding chapters.

Volunteers

Until approximately 1965, when Head Start and ESEA Title I programs became effective, parents were involved at Cassody School in much the same way as they were in other elementary schools. The school had a functioning PTA, more active some years than others, and a small core of individuals who could be depended upon to provide services to the school as needed. With the advent of the federal programs, more active efforts were made to recruit parents as classroom helpers, and to encourage actual involvement in the instructional program.

In 1973 when Cassody School began to participate in the PEG Program, the recruitment of volunteers became more intense. The reason for this can be traced to state guidelines for the program which required that primary classrooms maintain a ratio of one adult to each ten children during basic reading and math instructional times. Written evaluation procedures, as well as on-site monitoring visits by the State Research and Evaluation (R/E) Team demand proof that this guideline is being met.

Summary

The instructional and home-school-community relations programs at Cassody School are significantly influenced by the district administered Title I and Primary Education Growth (PEG) Programs. Funds from these federal and state programs are allocated to the district. In turn, schools qualifying for the programs receive financial allocations on the basis of enrollment. Cassody School is responsible for development of its own budget and program plan within state guidelines for the expenditure of Title I and PEG funds. Certain instructional and instructional support components are mandated by state guidelines. Two of these components, Parent Education and Parent Involvement, are the focus of planned home-school-community relations activities at Cassody School.

Instructional procedures at Cassody School are designed to facilitate prescriptive teaching through the use of Individually Guided Education (IGE). Instructional programming for individual students is based on a management system suggested by the Wisconsin Design for Reading Skill Development.

Findings

The following home-school-community relations findings emerged from the data in this chapter:

A. Goals and Outcomes

1. Parent involvement as mandated by the Title I and PEG Programs is believed to lead to long-range goals of access, legitimacy, and support for the school, as well as to increased child growth, development, and achievement.

B. Programmatic Elements and Processes

1. A systemmatic plan for the home-school-community relations processes of communication, involvement and participation is part of the parent involvement and parent education components of state and federal programs.

C. Non-Programmatic Elements and Processes

1. State guidelines for special programs did not emphasize the processes of analysis and resolution as they are defined in the Home-School-Community Relations Model.

The following issues related to the instructional program are identified in this chapter:

A. Movement of Children

1. Movement of children was perceived to result in loss of teaching time.

2. Movement of children was perceived to contribute to discipline problems in the school.

3. A belief existed among some staff members that inner-city children need a stable learning environment which is not affected by frequent movement within and between classes.

B. Restricted Teaching Modes

1. It was believed extensive pre- and post-testing for prescriptive teaching resulted in loss of teaching time.

2. Strict adherence to guidelines for skill teaching was perceived to limit teacher creativity and result in non-integrated learning.

These issues are related to home-school-community relations findings in succeeding chapters.

Data related to communication as a home-school-community relations process are described and interpreted in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI

PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA: COMMUNICATION AS A HOME-SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROCESS

Communication is defined in the Home-School-Community Relations Model as a process which utilizes all forms of interaction among various subpublics. This definition includes interaction occurring among subpublics within the school, outside of the school, and between those groups functioning in both arenas. Communication may be formally planned to utilize written or oral messages. It may also occur incidentally as a function of the interaction patterns of the various subpublics in the school communities. Perceptions generated by planned and unplanned communications activities are likely to result in both manifest and latent messages to the subpublics for which they are intended. The purpose of this chapter is to describe and interpret the data related to communication as a home-school-community relations process at Cassody School.

Planned Communication

The staff at Cassody School employed a variety of planned communication mechanisms in an attempt to keep the subpublics in the out-of-school community informed of school activities and to motivate them to become involved in instructional and programmatic home-school-community relations activities at the school. The major schoolwide mechanism was the distribution of bulletins which originated in the school office.

Bulletins

The term bulletins covered a wide range of written communications which came out of the school office. These included notices for meetings, announcements of school activities, and general information about school rules and regulations. The bulletins were distributed in the same way districtwide communication was sent to parents. That is, they were distributed to classrooms, given to children by the teachers, and carried to parents by the children. One parent gave an example of the kind of bulletin she might receive:

> M'Keba brings different bulletins home. I read all of them. She bugs me because she wants to know what they say. I made the mistake of reading the one about the candy apple sale to her. She wanted to buy an apple for everyone in the family.

The staff at Cassody School was obviously concerned about communicating schoolwide information to parents. One activity listed in the written program plan for the year was the preparation of a monthly newsletter by parents. Another planned activity was a staff-parent bulletin committee to prepare monthly bulletins about school activities. However, neither of these objectives was attained during the course of this study due to organizational constraints related to the staff desegregation plan.

While plans were being made to increase the number of schoolwide written communications as cited above, those bulletins already being sent from the school failed to meet the goal of keeping parents informed. A number of reasons for this situation were cited by respondents. The most frequently mentioned constraint was attributed to students who failed to take the bulletins home. In this respect one parent said:

> They say that they send notices home, but most of the time I do not receive them. They give the kids the bulletins. Nine out of ten of them end up in the trash.

In addition to this problem, the following reasons were also given by respondents for the lack of effectiveness of the schoolwide written communications:

1. Along with district bulletins, various surveys, and other written materials which came from the school office, it was felt by respondents that "too many memos" were sent to parents from the school.
2. Based on observations by many staff members that "parents are very slow or they do not respond to written communication," it was assumed notices and bulletins were not read even if they did reach the home.
3. Parents working at the school observed that often teachers did not emphasize the importance of the communication, or they failed to put the notices into the hands of the children.

It is likely that all of the above reasons contributed to the difficulty of keeping the parents in the school neighborhood informed of school activities. Assuming the number of bulletins distributed from the school office was excessive, it is possible that teachers did not emphasize the importance of the communications to the children because of the amount of time required for the task. It is also possible the teachers themselves did not understand the importance of the communication effort. If the students took the bulletins home, the school also had no assurance that they would be read. It has been documented elsewhere that the educational level of many of the parents in the community is very low. This being the case, it may have been difficult for them to understand the relative significance of the many bulletins they received.

Notes and Letters

Notes and letters from teachers to individual parents were used primarily to inform parents of a child's behavior or accomplishments. While the use of this method of communication depended on the inclinations of individual teachers, the activity itself was programmatic in the sense that the staff was urged by the principal at the beginning of the year to use a variety of methods to communicate with parents. Teachers reported they wrote notes to parents to give recognition to children for work well done, for work in need of completion, or to inform parents of behavior problems. Standardized commendation forms were available in the office for teachers who wished to use this method of communication to reinforce good behavior. While these and similar forms were used sporatically by some teachers, the aide who supervised the Title I Reading Room was the only person who reported using this communication vehicle on a systemmatic basis.

"Good" notes were usually sent home with the children. Teachers seemed to believe that the notes reached the homes but they were not sure if the notes were read since they seldom received feedback from the parents. Several teachers indicated that requests for parents to come to school for special conferences related to children's behavior were sent through the U.S. mail to insure they reached their destinations. However, most efforts to contact parents because of behavior problems with children or for poor academic work were accomplished through the use of the telephone. Thus, it appears that notes and letters from teachers sent home with children were primarily used to reinforce good behavior. It can be assumed that the success of this method of communication depended upon the stakes the child had in insuring that his or her parent was informed of the contents of the message.

Telephone Calls

The majority of teachers at Cassody School used the telephone as a primary communication vehicle with parents. A few teachers reported that parents were called on a systemmatic basis. The rationale for this procedure was explained by one teacher as follows:

> I contact every parent the first two weeks of school. I talk to them in person or on the phone. I tell them what I expect from the child and that I need their cooperation. All will talk on the phone.

> They say that if there is any problem I should call. I don't rest until I contact every parent--even if I have to go to the house. This year I have three families without phones.

Contacting parents who did not have phones was a special problem for teachers. Each teacher mentioned there were three to five children in a class whose parents did not have a phone. They also complained that these were the parents with whom they most frequently wished to talk. Thus, while phone calls were a personalized form of communication with which parents appeared to be comfortable, the procedure was complicated by socioeconomic factors. In addition to some families not having phones, the numbers on enrollment cards were often inaccurate. This situation resulted from families moving and interruption of services for those who could not pay their bills. These factors contributed to the dysfunction of phone calls as a systematic procedure.

The degree of telephone contact used by teachers with parents varied from individual to individual. In November, one teacher reported, "I haven't contacted any parents with notes or phone calls." Others indicated they had made an initial contact with nearly all parents of children in their homerooms by this time. However, by mid-November, 1976, the vast majority of teachers had contacted less than half of the parents for whom they might be considered to be responsible.

All of the interviewed parents who were not regular volunteers or paid aides at the school indicated they had received phone calls at sometime, perhaps in a previous year, from someone at the school.

Most indicated the calls were related to discipline problems with their children. A typical response from parents to a question about phone calls was as follows:

> If I get phone calls, it's because the children have been misbehaving. Nobody ever calls to say that they are good.

A few parents indicated that if they received a "bad" phone call they also frequently received a note or a telephone call indicating whether or not the situation had improved. Some also indicated a teacher had called to chat and simply get acquainted. Numerous parents also indicated they had received phone calls from the nurse at Cassody School. These calls were usually related to suggestions for taking a child to the doctor or for other health or attendance-related questions.

Most of the teachers who used the phone systemmatically to contact parents reported they did their calling from home. These respondents indicated they were more likely to find the parents at home in the evening. Others mentioned that the time involved in setting up the classroom for their instructional groups prohibited much calling during the day. Teachers who frequently called from home, lived close enough to the school to be in the same calling zone. A few of the black teachers and most of the white teachers lived so far from the school that they had to pay toll charges for calls to the school neighborhood. As one teacher said:

> It's hard to call parents on the phone. If I call from home it costs forty cents. It's too early to call right after school because the parents are outside or they are working.

Thus, while the telephone was a viable means of communication between parents and teachers at Cassody School, its effectiveness was further limited by the inability of some teachers to contact parents during the school day and by environmental factors which were related to the long distances that teachers lived from the school.

In addition to telephone calls made to parents by teachers and the nurse, the phone was also a major communication device for contacts between parents and the two Community Representatives employed by the school. Starting in December, 1976, the school employed two parents each for nine hours weekly. Their primary objective was to involve parents in activities at the school. These Community Representatives phoned parents before scheduled meetings of the parent education class and the Advisory Council to encourage them to attend the meetings. They also contacted parents to ask them to come to the school and work as volunteers. As a part of this communication process, the Community Representatives explained the instructional program at the school and attempted to inform parents of ways in which they could help their children at school and at home. The effectiveness of this personal approach to communication from parent to parent was to be measured in terms of increased involvement of parents at the school. This study was terminated soon after the Community Representatives were employed, so there was little opportunity to obtain parental reactions to this part of the school's communication plan.

Progress Report Conferences

The formal procedure for reporting pupil progress at Cassedy School was through parent-teacher conferences. Written program plans indicated that these conferences were to be held in January and May of the current school year. Up to the time that this research study was terminated on January 31, 1977, no formal conference period had been scheduled. It was assumed, though not verified directly, that the reason for the delay in scheduling the conferences was related to the demands placed on staff members as a result of the desegregation plan, and the upcoming Research and Evaluation Team visit which was scheduled for February, 1977.

The typical procedure for scheduling conferences was described to the researcher by several teachers and parents who had been at the school during previous conferences periods. They indicated that during "conference time", children were dismissed at noon for approximately a week so that teachers would have time to talk with parents. Prior to the date of the conferences, a notice was sent to each parent via their child indicating the time reserved by the teacher for that parent to come to school. The parent had the option of using the set time or notifying the teacher that another time was preferred. Teachers reported varying degrees of response by parents to the scheduled conferences. One teacher said:

> Last year at least 60-70 percent of my parents came to conferences. Other years it was just a handful.

Another teacher indicated she had a poor response to her last conference session. She said:

> Last year I had two parents from my room come in for a conference during conference time. I was not very reinforced about having conferences.

While the above responses indicate the extremes of parent willingness to come to the school for progress report conferences, most teachers said they had a fourth to one-half of their parents respond to the school's invitation to meet the teachers in a face-to-face conference setting. Some factors related to this phenomena are discussed in the succeeding chapter on parent involvement at the school.

One of the elements of the progress report conferences was the explanation of the checklist of skills which was used by the school to report each child's academic progress. This checklist was used in lieu of a "traditional" report card which indicated progress on the basis of letter or number grades. A parent who had previously attended conferences described how the checklist was used during the session with the teacher or teachers:

> They show you a checklist and tell you why they check what they checked. Sometimes they check it ahead of time and sometimes they check it while you are there. I like it better when they check it while I am there and when they explain why they are checking each thing. Usually at the end of the conference, the parent can ask questions.

A teacher who was asked to described what she did at a parent-teacher conference said:

> I keep a folder in which I record the children's activities such as pre-tests and discipline problems. During the conference I explain why the child is in a particular skill group. I try to talk to all of the teachers who teach that child ahead of time so that I can get their feedback for parents.

Apparently each team handled the reporting conferences differently or according to the needs of the parents. One parent indicated that she had a conference with all of her child's teachers at one time. She described such a conference by saying:

> All of the child's teachers are there. The have the child's folder and the teacher shows what the child has done. Then there is time to ask questions or discuss concerns.

Thus, if parents come to the school during the formal reporting period, it can be assumed they are made aware of their child's progress in relationship to the skills being taught and the overall social and academic achievement of the child during that reporting period. While individual teachers handle the progress report conference differently, it appears that parents have the opportunity to question the report and to offer suggestions about the instructional program for their child. The school had not scheduled such conferences after five months of instruction during the current school year. Thus, it appears few parents were aware of their child's progress unless an effort was made by the parent to get the information by initiating a conference. One parent whose child was new to Cassody School indicated she was not happy about the lack of information available to her about her child's progress even though she had been to the school and talked with the teachers.

She said:

> One of my complaints is that it is the middle of January and I still haven't been invited to the school to have a parent-teacher conference. In other schools, I always received progress reports from the school to let me know how my child was doing. There is nothing here to show me how he is doing. He doesn't bring books home and there is no homework. The levels that they talk about do not tell what Peter is doing.

The term "progress report" was not defined by the parent in the above statement. It is possible that she was making an appeal for a reporting system which would compare her child to others in his class. Lack of homework may have been another issue. However, the school's failure to initiate a conference was also a concern for her. If by coming to the school and asking questions she still felt she didn't know what her child was doing, it follows that those parents who did not come to the school had even less knowledge of their child's progress. A "non-participating" parent indicated the extent to which she depended on the school to take the responsibility for communication about her child's progress:

> I have lived in the area [of Traceway] for seven years, and in this apartment for two years. I have never been to school. I have never been to a conference. I only know what the kids are doing through the progress report card.

Apparently the written progress report is sent to parents if they do not attend a scheduled conference. The effectiveness of this form of communication is questionable when one considers the apparent intricacies of the report and the reported lack of formal education of many of the parents in the neighborhood. Further, large numbers of parents do not take the initiative to seek information from the school nor do they respond to invitations from the school to attend progress report conferences. Therefore, it appears written progress reports and attempts at planned face-to-face communication in the school setting have limited effectiveness as communication mechanisms.

Special Conferences

When children created special discipline problems or were experiencing special academic problems, teachers frequently requested the parents of these children come to school to discuss the problem. The parents might receive a phone call from the teacher or receive a letter through the United States mail requesting they come to school.

Teachers reported it was difficult to get parents to respond to a request to come to school for a special conference. An example of one teacher's experience is given below:

> I recently sent a notice home about a child who was misbehaving. I asked the parent to come to school but I didn't get any response. Someone from the office went to the home to talk to the parent but this parent still hasn't come to school.

If a child continued to create discipline problems and the parent had not responded to a teacher's request to come to school, the child might be excluded from school. Then the child was not allowed to return to classes until the parent came to school and talked with the principal. This request for parental action was contained in a letter which was signed by the principal. In such a case, the parent usually responded. In this respect the principal said:

> At first some parents didn't pay any attention to the letter. Then it became a mandate. Now when they get a letter, they don't want to get the second one. I use the power of my office, all of the Silver Lake authority, and the authority of the State to get them here to focus on that child.

Getting parents to focus on their children through special conferences was not an activity which was limited to children's behavior problems. One of the plans of the principal was to have all parents of children who scored below the twenty-fifth percentile on the school's standardized achievement tests come in for a conference before the end of November, 1976. However, this plan was not realized during the course of this study. The stated purpose of such a conference was to provide an opportunity for the teacher and principal to discuss the child's academic performance with the parent. According to Mrs. Boone's account, such conferences in the past had involved the following communication procedures:

> I spread out the standardized test materials and the teacher is responsible for discussing the criterion referenced materials related to skill achievement. Then the parent can see where his or her child is in relationship to children of the same age level and they can see how the child is doing as an individual.

While it is difficult to get the parents to come to school for such conferences without the principal's mandate, Mrs. Boone presented examples illustrating parents' interest in what their children were doing. According to her, they just do not know how to evaluate and follow through on helping their children to learn. She said:

> I had one parent who just came in here and broke down and cried. She said, "I didn't know my child needed that much help. He reads his book every night." But he was in fifth grade and he was reading a primer. If you gave him a fifth grade book he hardly knew the sight vocabulary.

Thus, the effectiveness of special conferences between parents and teachers at Cassody School was limited by the number of parents who responded to teacher requests for their involvement. However, when a request came from the principal, parents deferred to her authority, and made additional efforts to satisfy the demands of the school. At the same time, other demands on the principal's time limited the extent to which she used her authority to insist parents come to school during the course of this research study.

Home Visits

Home visits by teachers were a part of the planned school-community relations program at Cassody School during the current school year. According to the principal:

> When we were planning the program for this year the parents, in their needs assessment, asked for some minimum days [Days when school is dismissed early and the teachers are given time for a planned activity] to be spent with organized home visits. The parents want each teacher to visit every home.

The organized program of home visits for the current year did not get under way during the period of this research study. The principal addressed this concern when she said:

> We've got to get down to specifics and I haven't done that yet. I think this will have to come after the Christmas holidays. It should have been done the first week. That's what was planned, but we didn't know we were going to have this new staff when they were planning all this.

In addition to the fact that the school had many new staff members, planning home visits was complicated by concerns for the safety of teachers in the community. According to Mrs. Boone:

> Two years ago the district asked teachers not to go into the homes in the inner-city because so many people were vandalized on the streets. At that time, even PSA workers who were not of the same ethnic background as the people in the community were taken out of those neighborhoods. But now it doesn't make any difference what color you are. They just prey on you if they feel that you have something that they want.

To deal with the problem of safety, the original school plans called for the organization of "Block Parents" who would go with teachers to homes on a block by block basis. These were the "specifics" which had not yet been worked out to operationalize a planned program of home visits. However, some teachers, some aides, the nurse, and the PSA counselor utilized home visits as a communication process in spite of the safety factors involved.

Attitudes of teachers toward making home visits varied from individual to individual. While only black teachers reported making home visits, each black person's experiential background was as much of a factor in making this decision as it was with the white teachers. A black teacher who had been a Cassody School for several years commented:

> I never knew that this part of the world existed before I came to Cassody School. Everything is so different from what I knew before. I make some home visits. But I have never been inside of the Project. I won't go there.

A white teacher who was new to the school viewed the situation from her perspective:

> l am willing to make home visits. I feel comfortable in the community, but I use a considerable amount of caution. Some people are afraid. As a result, they attract trouble.

Some black teachers felt their race and backgrounds contributed to their ability to communicate with people in the black community. One teacher who made home visits and was not concerned with safety factors said:

> It may be that I can relate to the people in the community because most of us have the same origins in the Midwest and the South. We understand each other.

Another black teacher saw living in the community as an advantage as indicated by this statement:

> If I have a problem with a child, I am known in every nook and cranny, and I go to the parent. I grew up in the New Bay Baptist Church. I still know many

> of the people there. I go to other churches in the community. When the kids in my room are playing Pop Warner ball, I go. People see me. I am very visible in the community.

In contrast, a white teacher who was new to the community gave this response to a question about home visits:

> Can you see yourself doing that? My first reaction is no. The school is protective. I can lock the door. I'm not afraid in the school. A couple of teachers have been robbed on the street. It's kind of scary being in an all black neighborhood.
>
> If it didn't get dark so early I would consider it. . . I don't think it is safe. I see people wandering around on the school ground who don't belong here and I don't know what is out there. It's the unknown that I am afraid of. But still, I would like to see the kids and where and how they live.

Thus, while there were real safety factors which inhibited the extent to which teachers made home visits, personal attitudes and experiences of the teachers also affected their willingness to leave the school to establish communication with parents outside of the school setting. Even though a large number of the teachers at Cassody School did not make home visits, those who did saw value in this method of face-to-face communication. Home visits were perceived to be a good way to establish rapport with parents, a way of informing parents of what was being done in their child's classes, and a way of letting parents know something good about the child before he or she could do anything bad. A few respondents mentioned they made home visits for the purpose of dealing with discipline or academic problems after they had developed. Others saw home visits as a way of obtaining observational information about the child's home life. In this respect one teacher said:

> You can really see what is going on when you go to the home. You can see how the child is treated at home and you get so much more insight into the problems of the family when you go to the home.

Aides also made home visits, sometimes at the request of teachers and sometimes on their own intiative. One aide who lived outside of the Cassody School neighborhood expressed her bias toward this kind of face-to-face communication:

> I go to these homes. I'll bet there is not a black parent in Traceway who wants their children fighting. I'll bet that there wouldn't be four homes in Traceway where you wouldn't get their cooperation if you went and talked to them. White teachers may not go to the homes because they are afraid. But there is no excuse for a black teacher not to go. Of course, they work six hours a day too, and they have other things to do.

Time was undoubtedly a factor which limited the number of home visits which were made, especially by those people who did not live in or near the community of Traceway. However, the perception held by this black aide and other black staff members who were not teachers that only the white teachers had anything to fear in the community further illustrates the complexity involved in planning a program of home visits.

The two people at Cassody School who utilized home visits as a primary mechanism for communicating with parents were the nurse and the Pupil Services and Attendance (PSA) Counselor. The guidance counselor also made visits to parents' homes but the nature of his assignment limited the time that he spent on this activity.

The nurse at Cassody School was a black female who described her home visits as follows:

> I make many home visits for a variety of reasons. When a child becomes ill, I may take him home. Sometimes children have to be taken home for hygienic purposes. I have to get consent forms for physical examinations signed. Sometimes I help the counselor by doing a growth and development interview [obtaining background information for placing a child in a special educational program].
>
> I usually tell the parent why I am there and I take care of that business. Then I tell them about the opportunities for volunteering or I invite them to Advisory Council meetings. They will usually do a lot of talking about their health problems or their financial problems. They want someone to listen. Sometimes they tell me about another school where they tried to help but they were not accepted.

The nurse appeared to be a "walking encyclopedia" of information about the families at Cassody School. Information which she obtained about individual children was shared with their teachers through informal conferences. However, it appeared there was no communication mechanism within the school for her to share general information about the community as a whole with other members of the staff. In addition, only one staff member indicated that she had accompanied the nurse on a home visit. Even though the nurse indicated that at times remarks were made by groups of men on the street which made her "uncomfortable", her visibility was high in the community and she reported that she never encountered any problems as she moved around the neighborhood visiting homes.

The PSA counselor was a black man who was assigned to Cassody School for one-half day each week. When children were absent for a specific period of time, a referral was completed by the teacher. Each week the PSA worker picked up the referrals from the school and walked through the community, stopping at those homes for which he had referrals, to inquire about the problem which was keeping the child from attending school. Frequently the reason for absence was a lack of shoes or other clothing which was appropriate for school attendance. If this was the case, the PSA worker returned to the school and obtained a voucher from a welfare fund which was maintained at the school. He then took the child to a store and purchased the necessary clothing so the child could attend school.

The researcher accompanied the PSA worker during one of his morning rounds in Parkwood Village. He was recognized by many people, and gave the impression of being a good-will ambassador for the school. On that morning, the PSA worker did not go into any of the homes in Parkwood Village, but he made approximately ten "official stops". Typically, a mother responded to his knock on the door and a discussion was carried on at the front steps. Mr. Fennel, the PSA counselor, found this approach necessary in order to follow up on the many referrals that were directed to his attention each week. While conversations were relatively brief, the mother and Mr. Fennel discussed the reasons for the child's absence, sought alternative solutions to attendance problems, and "rapped" a period of time about the general status of the family.

In addition to his official stops, Mr. Fennel talked with numerous young people who were on the streets, sitting in cars, or just "hanging out". Since Mr. Fennel was also responsible for checking the attendance of truant students from Sentry Senior High School he combined these informal interactions with the referrals on his list for the day. Adults who were on the streets also received Mr. Fennel's attention. There were conversations with a college student who had dropped out of school due to lack of money, a man who had attended Cassody School as a child, and other individuals who talked about issues of concern such as the difficulty of finding jobs. As a result, the PSA counselor did much informal counseling with people on the streets during the more than two hours that the researcher was with him.

The method used by the PSA counselor to convey information back to the staff at Cassody School was to make annotations about causes of truancy on the referral forms and then return them to the school office. As with the nurse, no formal mechanism existed for the PSA counselor to share general information about the community with staff members who were unfamiliar with Traceway or with those who had never been to homes in Parkwood Village. To the researcher's knowledge, provisions were not made for teachers to accompany the PSA counselor on home visits or to take advantage of his visibility and accessability to people in the community.

An obvious reason for lack of coordination of the roles of the nurse and the PSA counselor in the school-community relations program at Cassody School is that time was a valuable and scarce resource for teachers and supportive personnel in the school. The PSA worker was assigned to work on referrals from Cassody School for only one-half day each week. During the other days he had responsibilities at other schools in the district. While the nurse was in the school and her time was more flexible, occasions for formal interactions with teachers were limited by teaching schedules, the concentration on instructional matters during staff development meetings, and the demands on time which resulted from planning and record-keeping related to the instructional program. Thus, two valuable resources for two-way communication with the community appeared to be largely untapped at Cassody School.

Parent Education Class

A weekly class was held at Cassody School for the purpose of making parents aware of the school's instructional program, and to assist parents in helping their children in the learning process both at home and at the school. The content of the class was determined from parent suggestions which grew out of the needs assessment for the total school program. The date of class sessions and the topics for each class session are listed in Appendix N. The class was coordinated by the PEG coordinator and taught by specialist teachers, coordinators, and the principal.

Both written and verbal communication efforts were utilized to encourage parents to attend the parent education class. Written bulletins listing the pertinent information about a session were sent to parents via the children a day or two in advance of class meetings. Starting in December, 1976, the Community Representatives made numerous telephone calls encouraging parents to attend the class. In addition, they also used informal interactions in the community to encourage attendance at the class. In this respect, one of the Representatives said:

> I call from the school to get people to come to parent education meetings. But the other night I told a couple of women in the grocery store about the parent education class and they came.

Attendance records obtained by the researcher included information about the first eight class sessions held during the current school year. While attendance increased at the two meetings following the hiring of the Community Representatives, the persons who attended more than half of the sessions during the first eight weeks were already involved at the school as volunteers. Three of those who attended more than half of the sessions were also employed as classified employees at the school. Table 10 illustrates the consistency with which parents attended the class.

One of the major school-community relations concerns at Cassody School was motivating parents to attend the parent education class. This concern was largely attributed to the decrease in attendance of the class as compared to the 1975-1976 school year. During that time, the

TABLE 10

ATTENDANCE AT PARENT EDUCATION CLASSES
SEPTEMBER 13-DECEMBER 8, 1976

Number of Classes Attended	Number of Participants
1	13
2	2
3	4
4	2
5	3
6	3
7	1
8	1
Total Number of Participants	29

school was the recipient of a Title III grant which focused on parent involvement as a means of increasing the achievement of children in the primary grades. As part of this program, parents were paid to attend parent education classes in exchange for donating time as classroom volunteers. The Title III project was not funded again, so the school was unable to offer a financial stipend during the current school year. This change in school policy was perceived to be a determining factor in the decrease in attendance at parent education classes. Thus, as a result of poor attendance at the classes, planned communication through this medium was limited to a very small number of parents. The perceived impact of the lack of financial rewards for parents is discussed more extensively in Chapter VII.

Special Programs and Activities

As part of the programmatic plan to communicate with parents, the staff at Cassody School was encouraged to provide varied opportunities for parents to learn about the instructional program and other activities at the school. Three such events are described below.

Classroom Programs

Before the Thanksgiving recess, parents of children in two primary classrooms were invited to a Thanksgiving program during which children did choral readings and sang Thanksgiving songs. This program was a culmination of a social studies unit with the following written objective:

> After having done research on the Thanksgiving holiday the pupils will be able to use oral language and art skills to share the information that they have gained.

Letters of invitation were prepared by the classroom teachers and delivered to parents by their children. Approximately 14 parents of the 60 children enrolled in the two rooms attended the afternoon program. The parents were introduced by their children. The principal attended the program and spoke to the parents about instructional activities occurring in the room and school as a whole. Parents were urged to become actively involved in school activities and especially to participate as volunteers.

Other classroom programs may have been held in the school during the course of this study, but they were not brought to the attention of the researcher. One teacher indicated plans had been made to do a culminating activity with another group of children but went on to say:

> When I told Mrs. Boone what we were going to do she wanted us to make such a big deal out of it that we never went any further with the plans. I don't have time to do all of that.

Time appeared to be a factor with other teachers when they talked about classroom programs as a communication activity. Some teachers indicated they spent so much of their time teaching skill groups and there were so many other activities to be accomplished during the afternoon period when they had a self-contained classroom group, that they could not justify the hours spent on an activity to which few parents might respond. Others felt they could not integrate their instruction in a way which such a culminating program would be a meaningful activity. Thus, the nature of the organization for instruction at Cassody School and the limited response of parents to school activities restricted the possible effectiveness of classroom programs as a communication activity.

Christmas Program

Parents of children who were involved in the drama club and the Cassody School chorus were invited to an afternoon program of Christmas music and pantomime. Approximately 15 parents attended this event. Parents were welcomed by the advisory council chairperson and the principal. One of the coordinators concluded the program with remarks which encouraged parents to become involved in school activities.

According to people who had been at the school in previous years, this event was not typical of those which had occurred in the past. Christmas programs in previous years were described as being much more elaborate in terms of student participation with all parents being invited to the presentation. Several people indicated that the Christmas program was one event where the auditorium was typically "packed" with parents who came to the school to see their children perform. The format of and participation in the program observed by the researcher was said to be limited because of lack of time to prepare a more extensive presentation. That is, the uncertainty of staffing patterns and the need to concentrate on the instructional program limited the time teachers could devote to fine arts activities. It was felt there had been too many interruptions in skill instruction already without creating additional stress related to special program preparations.

Other Special Programs and Activities

Among the other special activities designed to communicate with parents at the Cassody School was a "Back to School Night" in October, 1976, during which parents visited classrooms to talk with individual teachers; a tea for parents of children in the gifted program to explain the program to them; and a drill team assembly to which parents of drill team members were invited. The latter event is described in Chapter VII in relationship to involvement activities. However, it should be noted here that the drill team provided a communication opportunity which reached beyond the parent subpublic and made the school visible to the entire Silver Lake community.

The main value of the special programs and events which were held at Cassody School was that they created an awareness of the instructional program and other functions related to the education of children. The effectiveness of most of the efforts was limited due to few parents attending the events. Some teachers and actively involved parents at the school felt that more school-wide events in which children performed should be planned so that parents had a reason for coming to school. It was felt by these people that one-way communications from school were a prerequisite to increasing communication with and involvement of individual parents. In the past, such efforts had been sponsored by the Parent Teacher Association. During the course of this study, however, the PTA was inactive.

Unplanned Communication

The preceding pages describe the planned communication activities at Cassody School. These manifest efforts were recognized by both staff members and people outside of the school. However, communication occurred outside of the program paradigm in ways which were sometimes visible to the participants, sometimes assumed, and sometimes overlooked as possible means for meeting school-community relations goals. The discussion on the following pages addresses the function of unanticipated school visits by parents as a communication process and the roles of aides, other classified staff members, and children as communication links between the school and community.

Unanticipated School Visits

This term refers to face-to-face contacts between staff members and parents which occurred as a result of parents being at Cassody School. If a parent came to Cassody School for the explicit purpose of keeping an appointment with a teacher for a progress report conference, the visit was considered by the researcher to be a planned school visit. Unanticipated school visits refer to the contacts which were made as a result of unannounced visits or informal interactions of an unplanned nature.

A norm for utilizing unplanned opportunities to communicate with parents existed at Cassody School. The school expressed an "Open Door" policy which encouraged parents to come to the school at any time to visit their child's classroom or to volunteer their services. One teacher verbalized this norm as follows:

> I encourage parents to "drop in". I invite them to come and observe or to help their children if they wish. Some parents may watch from the hall just to see how their children are behaving in the classroom.

Parents who came to the school seemed to be aware of the "Open Door" policy. A number of parents with whom the researcher conversed gave examples of how they came to school to talk to teachers or to observe classes without prior notice. In this respect, a mother who was at the school to be interviewed for this study said:

> Sometimes I go visit the teacher. As long as I'm here now I will go to each of my kids classes and listen for awhile.

Teachers who were comfortable with this kind of informal involvement capitalized on every opportunity to talk with parents who were in the building. In response to a question about conferences, one teacher said:

> Sometimes I see a parent of one of my children in the hall and we have an informal conference.

However, not all teachers were comfortable with this arrangement. Teachers who were new to the school seemed to find it particularly distracting. One of the new Anglo teachers said:

> Some parents bring their children to the room but I can't stop and talk when I'm teaching.

Another new teacher described what happened when a parent came to her classroom and wanted to talk while she was teaching:

> A mother came to school while the children were in the room and started harassing me and asking why I was picking on her child. I ignored her. The lady disappeared and in a few minutes she came back with one of the coordinators. They got someone to cover my class and we had a three-way conference. I told that woman that if she wanted to talk with me I was willing to do it in private but not in front of the whole class.

Thus, both manifest and latent communication was generated as the result of unanticipated school visits. The manifest message to parents was that the school was open and they were always welcome. The latent message from those teachers who were not prepared to deal with the local norms may have been interpreted as "I can't be bothered." The implications of these conflicting messages will receive further consideration in Chapter VII.

The Role of Students as Communication Links

The primary interactions for most of the adults at Cassody School occurred between them and students at the school. The exception to this generalization occurred with those subpublics who provided administrative or support services. However, those individuals also mentioned having some degree of contact with children. As a result of this interaction pattern in the school, it can be assumed that students played an important role as communication links between the school and the community. As one teacher said, "The children tell you everything". A new teacher said:

> I learn by listening and watching. I see the way that they (the children) act. I listen to their language and they are always talking about things that go on in the community.

At the same time, parents learned about Cassody School through their children. One parent was concerned because her child was so unhappy:

> John has played a big part in my learning about this school. He is very displeased because the kids here are so hostile. He wants to go back to his old school.

A citizen who did not have children at the school was asked how he received information about Cassody School. He said:

> Parents find out about the school by what their children learn, by what they bring home, and by what the kids tell them. That information is spread around the community by word of mouth.

The actual extent to which students carried information about the school to parents and the community was not determined by this study. Special efforts to prepare students for their roles as communicators were not mentioned by teachers. However, when asked what might be done to make sure that vital information was transmitted from the school to the home, one staff member made the following suggestion:

> If there was something that I really wanted the parents to know, I would use the intercom system and repeat it over and over so that every child heard it several times.

It was apparent from talking with staff members that they were very much aware that children might relay messages to the home which could be misunderstood by parents. Numerous people gave examples of incidences where children told parents their version of something which had happened and the parents came to school because they thought the child was being wronged. A person who had such an experience related this example:

> A child cut into the line and I told him to go to the end of the line. I didn't pay any attention, but instead of doing so, he went home and came back with his mother. He told her that I snatched him out of the line, and wouldn't let him eat breakfast. I asked her, "Did he tell you that he called me a mother fucker and a son of a bitch?" Fortunately there was another boy who heard him say this and he agreed that it happened. You can't get parents to come to school but when they come they come ready to fight.

To prevent incidences such as the one cited above, an effort was usually made by teachers to reach parents by telephone before a problem could develop due to incomplete information. A teacher said:

> I usually figure that I should get to the parent
> before the child tells something that is not true.

The data cited in this section suggests that staff members were aware that children acted as communication links with parents but little was done to reinforce the children as positive carriers of school news. When their roles as transmitters of information was recognized, teachers made efforts to prevent the transmission of negative communications which might result from misconceived perceptions and incomplete information.

Aides and Other Classified Personnel as Communication Links

The second most frequent interaction pattern which seemed to occur in the school was the interaction of aides and teachers with whom they worked. This pattern has added significance when it is also noted that aides frequently interacted with the office, cafeteria, and custodial staff members at the school. All of the staff members in these categories who were interviewed during the study had interactions with people in the neighborhood around the school by virtue of where they lived or carried on personal business, or as a result of having acquaintances in the community. Thus, an informal communication system existed which made it possible for information to travel from classrooms to other employees and to the community. At the same time, information about the community was passed along to teachers from aides and other classified personnel.

Aides who worked in the classrooms were particularly helpful to teachers who had difficulty communicating with parents as individuals or simply because their efforts were limited by time or access to those with whom they wished to speak. A black teacher who did not live in the community made this statement about how her aide helped her:

> My aide usually carries news. As an example, a little boy was pretending to be drunk all day long. I called his home. There was no answer. A few days later my aide said that his mother was out of town, and that the children were staying with friends. She thought that might be why he was acting as he was. She knew the whole inside story. Most of the time the aides do.

A white teacher used another example to illustrate how her aide functioned as a link between the teacher and a parent:

> I got more information from my aide when I started than from anyone else. She is a contact with the community. For example, I tried to reach a mother by phone. I couldn't get her to tell her about her child's behavior. My aide said that she would drop by and talk to her.

Teachers who were new to the school indicated that they learned what they knew about the community primarily from their aides and from the children with whom they worked. However, a rich source of general community information remained untapped except through the aides, due to the social interaction patterns in the school. As indicated in a previous chapter, the physical setting in which the researcher obtained a great deal of her information was in the staff dining room. Here staff members arranged themselves according to work groups and there appeared to be little direct interaction between the classified staff, other than aides, and teachers. Some interaction was limited by the eating schedules of the groups but even when opportunities for interaction were present, they were often not acted upon. One classified staff person from whom the researcher learned much about the community and the school said:

> Most of the people here eat and interact only with their friends. It's like a closed shop. The biggest problem to communication and good relations within the school is that individuals see only positions, not the person in the position.

In terms of school-community relations, it would have been helpful if the hierarchy of positions at the school had been reversed. That is, it appeared that knowledge of the community could best be obtained from those who lived and conducted their business in Traceway--primarily the classified staff.

Even though teachers did not capitalize on the resources of classified staff, other than aides, the community did. A wide variety of examples was provided to the researcher of situations in which the classified staff interacted with people in the community. Those who shopped and conducted other business in the community spoke of talking with friends in public places. One person said:

> When I go shopping or to the bank people ask me questions. I've been able to stop false rumors. People are inclined to believe what I say.

Churches were often mentioned as places where community members inquired of staff members about the school. One person gave this example:

> People at church sometimes ask me questions. They know that I am at the school everyday so they think that I should know everything that is going on.

The extent to which information about the issues which existed within the school was shared in the community is not verified in this study. There were indications that provocative questions were asked of aides and other classified personnel which required discretion and loyalty to the school. One person said:

> My neighbors ask me lots of questions about the school. They say things like, "What's going on up there? You can tell me."

When asked about the personal dilemmas which might arise while sharing information concerning the school, one classified staff member said:

> I put a limit on the things I discuss. I've found out that messages don't get back the way they're sent. Yes, I've heard a lot of discussion about the new teachers. But I don't even know their names. I watched one of them in the hall and I saw how she had to tug at the kids to get them to do what she wanted. But you have to think that the problem is not always with the teachers. Sometimes it is with the parents and the kids. Yes, I've heard a lot of things, but I won't talk about them with other people because I really don't know for myself.

Evidence collected in the study suggests that teachers and administrative staff members were aware of the roles of aides as communication links with the community. There was also some awareness that potential problems existed with this kind of informal communication. One person said:

> The community gets more information from aides than from anyone else. But while the aides say "in their own way" what they see and what they learn at the school, they may not always have enough information to know what is really happening.

Another staff member summarized the importance of the communication role which was played by aides when she said:

> Any aide or volunteer is a link to the community. They will either recruit more people for the school or they will say to others, "Take your child out of that school!"

If an awareness existed among the teaching and administrative staff about the communication role of other classified staff members, it was not expressed to the researcher except with reference to specific individuals by the principal. Yet, the statements above could very well be changed to include all members of the school staff, especially those who lived in the community and interacted with parents and other citizens as friends and neighbors.

Findings

The following findings are relevant to communication as a home-school-community relations process:

A. Goals and Outcomes

   1. The program of communication activities at Cassody School was aimed primarily at achieving the goals of:
      a. informing parents about the instructional program.
      b. informing parents of concerns about children.
      c. encouraging parents to become active in involvement and participation activities at the school.

   2. Parents did not respond positively to written communications.

   3. Parents were receptive to one-to-one communication efforts occurring through the use of telephone and home visits.

   4. Many parents were reluctant to visit the school for conferences or other activities planned to facilitate communication.

B. Programmatic Elements

   1. Communication activities were planned as part of the total school program.

   2. Planned communication activities and people responsible for implementing the activities were identified as follows:

	Activity	People Responsible
a.	Newsletter and Schoolwide Bulletins	Principal, Teachers, Parents
b.	Notes and Letters	Principal, Teachers
c.	Telephone Calls	Principal, Teachers, Nurse, Community Representatives
d.	Progress Report Conferences	Teachers

e. Home visits	Teachers, Aides, Nurse, PSA Counselor
f. Parent Education Class	Coordinators, Specialist Teachers, Principal
g. Special Programs and Activities	Staff

C. Non-Programmatic Elements

1. The philosophy for informal communciation during parents' unanticipated school visits was not accepted by all teachers.
2. Children were recognized as communication links with the home although their roles were often perceived to be negative.
3. Aides were recognized as having both positive and negative potential for increasing two-way communication between the school and the community.
4. Classified staff members served as direct communication links to the community. Their potential as two-way communicators was not acknowledged in the planned school-community relations program.

D. Primary Interaction Patterns

1. Primary interactions between the school and the home occurred between parents and teachers, Community Representatives, the nurse, the PSA counselor, and the principal.
2. Home-school-community relations roles of unit leaders were not differentiated from those of other classroom teachers.
3. Specialist teachers and coordinators had less contact with parents than classroom teachers.
4. Classified personnel, including aides, had more unplanned interactions with parents and other citizens than other school personnel.

Communication is closely related to involvement as a home-school-community relations process. Description and interpretation of involvement activities at Cassody School are presented in the following chapter.

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Technical Report No. 448
Part 2 of 2 Parts

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by Lois I. Bartels

February 1978

WISCONSIN RESEARCH
AND DEVELOPMENT
CENTER FOR
COGNITIVE LEARNING

UD018093

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Lois I. Bartels

Report from the Project on
Studies of Administration and Organization for Instruction

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Wisconsin Research and Development
Center for Cognitive Learning
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

February 1978

This Technical Report is a doctoral dissertation reporting research supported by the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning. Since it has been approved by a University Examining Committee, it has not been reviewed by the Center. It is published by the Center as a record of some of the Center's activities and as a service to the student. The bound original is in the University of Wisconsin Memorial Library.

Published by the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, supported in part as a research and development center by funds from the National Institute of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the National Institute of Education and no official endorsement by that agency should be inferred.

Center Contract No. OB-NIE-G-78-0117

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The Wisconsin Research and Development Center is supported with funds from the National Institute of Education and the University of Wisconsin.

WISCONSIN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
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FOREWORD

This report represents the final analysis of data obtained in an in-depth case study of one urban, inner-city IGE school. The use of field methodology at one research site has raised a number of ethical questions in relationship to preserving the anonymity of respondents and interpreting their behaviors, attitudes, and comments without distorting intended meanings. While it is likely those who participated in the study will not remain unknown to each other, the following efforts have been made to produce a manuscript which represents competent reporting of research and still honors the trust placed in the researcher by those who cooperated in the study.

The names of all persons and places have been changed to protect the identity of the school district, the school and individuals who participated in the study. Furthermore, when direct quotations are preceded by a pronoun district resource people and administrators are referred to as "he" and teachers as "she". In retrospect, this attempt to guarantee anonymity may be viewed as sexual stereotyping; however, it also reflects an effort to protect the identity of respondents who represented sexual minorities in the real situation. Finally, official documents containing the name of the school, the district, the city or the state have not been cited as references in this report. This is particularly significant in Chapter III where much of the information concerning the history of the community was obtained from works of other researchers. In an effort to resolve such ethical considerations, questions about bibliographic references may be referred to the researcher at the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, 1025 West Johnson Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53706.

Lois I. Bartels
November 4, 1977

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have shared of their time and talents to realize the completion of this work. The unique gift of each individual will long be remembered and cherished by the researcher. However, this special note of thanks is offered to the following individuals and groups:

To the principal, staff, parents, and students at the real Cassody School for their warm hospitality and active cooperation throughout this study;

To Professor B. Dean Bowles for his very special contributions as patient mentor, Aries friend, and creator of the Mortar Base-Plate Model;

To Professors Marvin J. Fruth, Donald J. McCarty, Robert P. Moser, and B. Robert Tabachnick for listening, reading, and sharing the pains and pleasures of a neophyte researcher;

To Dr. Carol J. Genrich and Dr. Linda L. Calvin for unwavering support, endless patience, and intuitively knowing when to listen, when to act, and when to let an Aries Be;

To Eileen L. Niedermeier for being Eileen;

To Dr. Colin R. Moyle, Glenn A. Neiner, Noel A. Watkins, and Hillel I. Raskas for "mateship" which made even the impossible seem possible;

To all who contributed literary and technical skills to produce a completed manuscript;

To the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for financial assistance;

And above all, to Dorothy and Joe Bartels for encouragement, love, and understanding which can come only from parents who are also friends.

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Abstract

SUPPORTS AND CONSTRAINTS TO HOME-SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN AN URBAN, INNER-CITY IGE SCHOOL

By

Lois I. Bartels

Under the supervision of Professor B. Dean Bowles

Individually Guided Education (IGE) is an alternative form of schooling used in a large number of elementary schools. The research reported in this study represents an in-depth case study of home-school-community relations at an IGE school located in an inner-city neighborhood of one of the twenty largest cities in the United States. The school served a population of 718 black students, the majority of whom lived in a near-by low income housing project. Both the instructional and home-school-community relations programs were highly influenced by guidelines for federal (Title I) and state programs implemented at the school.

Data for the study were collected during a three month period of time through the use of field study methods including both formal and informal interviews and observations, and collection of relevant documents. Specific purposes of the study are:

1. To describe the organizational and community environments of an urban, inner-city IGE school

2. To describe the home-school-community relations program/activities of an urban, inner-city IGE school

3. To identify the supports for and constraints against a home-school-community relations program in an urban, inner-city IGE school

4. To refine the home-school-community relations model developed at the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning

This study was part of a larger research effort by the Home-School-Community Relations Project at the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning. Using a conceptual framework developed at the R & D Center, this study describes programmatic and goal elements of activities at the selected school in terms of the processes of communication, involvement, participation, analysis, and resolution of potential or actual conflict. Relevant findings growing out of the descriptive data resulted in concluding statements regarding conditions and related factors identified as supports and constraints to home-school-community relations.

Conditions providing organizational supports and/or constraints to home-school-community relations include: 1) size of the district, 2) locus of district decision making, 3) attitudes and behaviors of district administrators, 4) attitudes and behaviors of the local school principal, 5) attitudes and behaviors of teachers, 6) teacher transiency, 7) the instructional program, 8) influence of state and federal programs, and 9) allocation of resources.

Community constraints were largely related to a current condition of non-activism in the school neighborhood. Specific conditions providing supports and/or constraints include: 1) attitudes of involved parents, 2) poverty and related conditions, 3) limited formal schooling of

parents, 4) working parents, 5) crime and vandalism, and 6) socioeconomic and cultural values in the community.

An unanticipated variable was introduced into the study as a result of a districtwide desegregation plan which resulted in the assignment of a number of white teachers to the predominantly black staff of the selected school. The effects of this condition on the instructional program are described as part of the organizational environment of the school. However, the issue of racial differences between white teachers and black children and parents did not emerge as a primary support or constraint to the home-school-community relations program.

The role of the principal as a political actor in the school and community is described throughout the study. It is concluded that one of the principal's major functions was to stimulate a programmatic approach to home-school-school-community relations. It is further concluded that her political leadership style in the predominantly inert school community was a major factor in the effectiveness or non-effectiveness of various aspects of the program.

The descriptive nature of this study provides a useful overview for schools in similar neighborhoods wishing to implement a home-school-community relations program. In addition, findings of the study suggest general implications for schools of education and for federal, state, and district education agencies interested in promoting positive home-school-community relations at the local school level.

Approved by: B. Dean Bowles

Date: 12/6/77

CHAPTER VII

PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA: INVOLVEMENT AS A HOME-SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROCESS

Involvement is defined in the Home-School-Community Relations Model as a process through which various subpublics contribute resources of time, energy, and expertise to the school. Using this definition, a number of activities described in the previous chapter might also be viewed as involvement activities in the home-school-community relations program. For example, attendance at progress report conferences, special conferences, and parent education classes involves the expenditure of time and energy on the part of parents. While the actual processes involved in a home-school-community relations program are interrelated, those activities already described are not reexamined in this chapter except where generalizations are applicable. Instead, the discussion related to involvement is focused primarily on the utilization of parent volunteers.

The "Open Door" Policy at Cassody School

The catalyst for all forms of parent involvement at Cassody School was the principal, Mrs. Boone. Her stated belief, "I have a responsibility to include parents in the educational processes of the school," and her demonstrated behaviors of doing so over a period of several years, provided the basis for the "Open Door policy expressed by the school. As a result, a norm existed at Cassody School for parents to come to the school at anytime to visit classrooms or to volunteer their services as they wished. An effort was made to systematize the volunteer program at the school, but this did not preclude having parents walk into a classroom expressing a desire to help without giving previous notice to the teacher.

Both teachers and involved parents were aware of the "Open Door" policy. In this respect, a teacher new to the school compared Cassody to her previous teaching situation when she said:

> The school is open. Parents can come in anytime they want. Mrs. Boone invites them. In some schools they don't want parents roaming around but that's not true here.

The same general idea was expressed over and over by teachers. "The door is open. All parents have to do is come."

Parents who were involved in the school program were aware of the norm for openness. One mother said:

> The school is always open to parents. They don't have to call. Mrs. Boone is always free to talk to her parents.

It was within this organizational mileau that efforts were made to organize a volunteer aide program and recruit parents for other volunteer activities in the school.

The Volunteer Aide Program

The use of volunteers was a programmatic element for home-school-community relations at Cassody School. The actual volunteer program was only partially accomplished in a systemmatic way due to numerous organizational constraints. This situation is best explained by contrasting conditions at the school during the current year with those existing during the 1975-1976 school year.

As indicated in the previous chapter, Cassody School received a Title III grant during the 1975-1976 school year for a proposal designed to improve the achievement of children in Preschool through third grade by involving parents in the instructional program both at home and at school. Children in these grades were divided into an experimental group and a control group. Parents and teachers of children in the experimental group were given inservice training in ways to work with each other and with the children. These parents were paid to attend parent education classes in return for volunteering in the classroom. The Title III project had a full-time coordinator and two aides who served as Community Representatives. In addition to other duties, the Community Representatives delivered, explained, and retrieved weekly homework assignments from children who participated in the experimental program.

With the assistance of additional federal funds to pay for a full-time coordinator and to provide stipends for parents, Cassody School was able to organize and maintain a vibrant volunteer program during the 1975-1976 school year. Components of the program included coordination, inservice training for participating staff, systemmatic recruitment, orientation and inservice training for volunteers, recognition for volunteers, and evaluation of the program. Records show 66 parents received certificates and trophies at the end of the year for their active participation as volunteers at the school. One person said:

> Many of the old-timers continued to volunteer, but we had parents at the school that I had never seen before.

The Title III project was not funded for the current (1976-1977) school year. As a result, it was no longer possible to pay parents for their involvement nor was it possible to employ a full-time coordinator. In addition, the project coordinator was transferred to another school as part of the district teacher desegregation plan. Thus, her leadership skills and experience in working with parents were lost to the school. While efforts were made to duplicate the success of the 1975-1976 volunteer program during the current year, organizational efforts were fragmented and parent involvement was noticeably curtailed. These efforts are described and interpreted within an organizational framework for volunteer programs which includes the following components: Coordination, Preservice and Inservice Training for Staff, Volunteer Recruitment, Placement and Orientation of Volunteers, Preservice and Inservice Training for Volunteers, Recognition for Volunteers, and Evaluation of the Program.[1]

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[1] Lois I. Bartels, Simformation 2: Organizing Volunteer Programs in IGE Schools, (Madison: Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, University of Wisconsin, 1977), p. 21.

Coordination

At the beginning of the 1976-1977 school year, a classroom teacher who had demonstrated success in working with parents as volunteers in her own classroom was assigned the role of volunteer coordinator for the school. This assignment was to be performed in addition to her teaching responsibilities. The coordinator held this position until January when, in anticipation of being transferred to a school with a non-black student body, she accepted a job in a Region 1 program. A new volunteer coordinator was not appointed before this study was terminated.

Much of the success of the Title III parent involvement program during the previous year was attributed to having a full-time coordinator. Given freedom from other responsibilities, this person had an opportunity to plan and follow up on recruitment efforts, mediate disagreements between parents and teachers, provide reinforcement for volunteers, direct training efforts, and facilitate communication among subpublics within the school. Lacking a person who could devote full effort to these kinds of responsibilities, it was found that parents who were involved at the school during the current school year continued to call the Title III coordinator at home even though she no longer had any official ties with Cassody School. Her advice was sought on a variety of concerns which previously had been dealt with within the school organization. Emphasizing the importance of having a full-time coordinator, she said:

> I coordinated the parent involvement program for two years as a classroom teacher. Those two years were

> not nearly as successful as last year when I was doing it full-time.

Certainly the personality of the volunteer coordinator is important. This person must be able to relate to parents and teachers alike in an effort to facilitate problem solving and communication within the school. Yet, time to do the job--to be available when needed and to encourage and guide the working relationships between subpublics within the school--seems to be a vital support for the success of a volunteer program.

Staff Orientation and Training

It is difficult to generalize about the need for staff orientation and training at Cassody School due to the varied profile of the staff. The teachers who were new to the school brought with them personalized philosophies and experiences in relationship to parent involvement. Those who had worked in schools which had implemented a PEG program had different views than those who had never worked in a school with parent volunteers. However, teachers who had been at Cassody School since the inception of the Title I and PEG programs had some training in the effective use of volunteers over the intervening years. This is especially true of those who participated in the Title III program during the previous school year. Yet, it cannot be assumed that everyone accepted the philosophical underpinnings of the process of involvement in relationship to school goals. This observation was borne out by a statement from the Title III Project Coordinator when she said that the failure of some teachers to "internalize the need" for such a program of parent involvement was one of the constraints to added success during the previous school year. Thus, individual teacher attitudes did much to influence the extent to which parent involvement occurred in their classrooms.

Part of the difficulty in dealing with teacher attitudes was related to their not having a choice about whether parents were to be involved in the school program. The guidelines for compensatory education programs at Cassody School mandated parent involvement. Even the principal, who demonstrated an intrinsic belief in the worth of parent involvement, also had a legal responsibility to involve parents in the educational processes at the school. Though teachers who were at the school during the previous year were involved in planning the program for parent involvement, their part in the decision making process was limited to seeking ways to carry out objectives for increasing the number of parents involved in school activities. Teachers who were new to the school had no part in determining plans for parent involvement. In all cases, if the teachers were not philosophically committed to this aspect of education before coming to school, they were simply expected to accept it as part of their assignments. If there was a planned effort to orient teachers to the philosophical rationale for involvement in terms of desired goals and outcomes, it was not apparent to the researcher.

A number of respondents indicated "undercurrents" existed among the school staff and suggested not all teachers wanted a volunteer parent aide. One person said of such teachers:

> They say that they don't need any help, that they would rather do the job themselves. What they really mean is that they don't want to take the time to plan for a parent volunteer. Others are threatened. They say, "I know how to teach. The parents don't."

In this respect the volunteer coordinator identified the problem as not only being related to a lack of awareness and commitment but as a lack of understanding in how to work with volunteers on a day-to-day basis. She said:

> What we need is training for teachers in how to use volunteers. Some teachers don't like to have volunteers in their rooms because they don't know how to work with them. Others know how to train them and they love to have them.

The need for teacher training was particularly evident for those who were not prepared to have parents come to their rooms without previous notice. In this respect, a teacher said:

> Sometimes they (parents) just show up and want to help. But I like to be organized and I can't just stop what I am doing and show them what to do.

Another of the problems which needed to be addressed through teacher training was that volunteers did not always keep their scheduled appointments even if they were regularly assigned to work in a particular room. Focusing on the problems of tardiness and undependability of some volunteers, a teacher explained how she planned for this problem:

> I show my volunteer what I want her to do with a group. But I plan so I can go ahead without her becuase I can't depend on her being here.

The lack of individual teacher commitment and/or training for working with volunteers was evident to involved parents, and was cited as a possible reason for lack of involvement by some parents. One mother gave this illustration of the impact of teacher attitude on volunteer efforts:

> You can tell if a teacher wants you. It's their attitude. If you come in and ask what you can do to help they say that they don't have anything right now. They ask you to sit down and observe. Or they set you in a corner stapling papers. I don't mind doing those things, but I want to work with children too. Parents come once or twice. If they get the wrong teacher, they won't come back.

The reality of this situation was made clear by a mother who indicated she stopped volunteering in her children's classrooms. She said:

> The few times that I came to help my time seemed wasted. I hate to come and stand around and not know what to do. Maybe the teachers are not used to having parents in the classroom.

One of the teachers to whom this parent referred did not have previous experiences working with volunteers. However, the other teacher had been at Cassody School for several years and was familiar with volunteer efforts of the school. Ironically, the latter person was one who told the researcher she invited parents to come at any time and she saw value to having parent volunteers in the room. Thus, it can only be concluded she did not know what to do to make the parent feel useful and training in ways to plan for unexpected volunteers would have been helpful to her.

Utilizing the above examples to demonstrate the need for teacher orientation and training, it appeared that conflicting messages were being given to parents at Cassody School. The manifest communication was that parents were always welcome and that they were needed as helpers in the instructional program. A latent message, whether intended or unintended, told parents "who got the wrong teacher" that the doors of the school were open but the arms of the teachers were not. As one parent said, "It depends on the individual. Some teachers make you feel welcome and some don't." It is likely that teacher orientation and training would do little to help those teachers who consciously chose to discourage parent involvement. But those who honestly believed they were trying to involve parents needed feedback and training to make their efforts worthwhile for themselves and the volunteers alike.

While the need for teacher training was obvious to some people at Cassody School, facilitating such training was limited by the coordinator's time for volunteer responsibilities and by teacher time for participating in the training. The most pressing inservice need at the school was related to training new teachers to implement the instructional program. During the course of this study, staff meetings and inservice sessions were held weekly. The meetings were primarily information-giving sessions to familiarize teachers with materials and various components in the total school program. Any attempts to deal with school-community relations subjects were limited by the time teachers could be asked to stay after school and by the need to convey large amounts of information in preparation for the State Research and Evaluation (R/E)

Team visit in February. As a result, it was necessary for the staff at the school to learn what they could as fast as possible, to keep the instructional program moving, and to hope that other needs would work themselves out in the process.

Recruitment of Volunteers

The most successful efforts toward getting parents to assist with the instructional program during the 1976-1977 school year occurred in the Preschool class. The Preschool program had the dual purpose of providing early learning experiences for children, and for teaching parents how to work with their children at home and at school. As a result of this emphasis on involvement, parents were "urged" to volunteer in the class. That is, when a parent sought to enroll a child in the Preschool class, it was made clear by the Preschool teacher that three hours of volunteer time was expected each week. If a parent indicated that this was not possible because of having younger children who needed a baby-sitter, the parent was invited to bring the children to school. The teacher stated that "toddlers can fit into the class," as the Preschool room had a playpen. According to the teacher, parents were never told that the child whom they were seeking to enroll in the class would not be accepted if the parent didn't volunteer, "but they get the idea. There are only 15 openings." With this incentive, fifteen parents were involved on a regular basis in the Preschool classroom.

The first efforts to recruit parents as volunteers in kindergarten through the sixth grade occurred early in the year when an "Orientation

Tea" was held. Parents were sent invitations via their children to come to school to learn how they could be involved as volunteers. Resource people from the district volunteer office and a parent who volunteered at another school made presentations about the value of volunteers in the school program. Parents were then asked to sign up for the kind of volunteer assignment they would like to have. They left their names and phone numbers with the coordinator and were told that they would be contacted concerning an assignment. According to the coordinator, this promised telephone contact was not made. The reasons for the lack of follow-up were attributed to other pressing demands at the school related to the teacher desegregation plan. As a result:

> Another letter was sent home saying that the parents should just come to school, that they should not wait for a phone call.

No records were available to verify if any of the parents who had signed up to become volunteers came to the school without the personal contact that was promised.

In addition to this aborted attempt at recruitment, teachers were encouraged by the principal to identify parents whom they thought might work as volunteers and to make a personal contact requesting their help. Efforts in this respect were inconsistent. One teacher who did not have any volunteers in her room said, "If a parent comes to the room I tell them that they can volunteer." Some teachers sent letters to parents of all of the children in their rooms. One such hand-written note is shown in Appendix O. The teacher who sent the note made this statement:

> I had one response by a mother who came in for one day. Mostly I got a lot of promises.

Other teachers included a request to parents that they work as volunteers when they called the homes for other reasons. Some teachers made special efforts to telephone parents for the specific purpose of asking them to volunteer. A teacher who was new to the school told of her efforts this way:

> I called two mothers and a grandmother. They all promised that they would come to volunteer but none of them showed up.
>
> A different mother came and said that she would like to help but she couldn't stay at school. I gave her some tissue paper and a pinking shears and asked her to prepare some materials for an art project. I haven't seen her or the materials since.

In addition to one school-wide effort and varying degrees of individual teacher effort to recruit parents as volunteer aides, other recruitment attempts were also made by the two Community Representatives. They called parents from teacher class lists, and talked informally with people in the community about the need for volunteers. It was also through their efforts that a student club, Young Pioneers for Parent Volunteers, was organized in January, 1977. One of the Community Representatives explained the formation of this group as follows:

> We (the two Community Representatives and "others") thought that it might be a good idea to reach the parents through the children. I went to some rooms

> and asked the teachers for the names of the parents that they thought might be interested in volunteering. The kids were then invited to come to a meeting.

The researcher attended the first and second noon hour meetings of the Pioneers. The principal assisted the children with organizing procedures and officers were elected the first day. It was also decided the students should invite their parents to the second meeting to learn how parents' volunteer efforts could be utilized by the school. Approximately 16 students were in attendance. Three parents came to the second meeting. Of these, only one parent was not already volunteering in a classroom. This research study was terminated before further observations of Pioneer activities could be made.

One other recruitment effort was brought to the attention of the researcher during an interview with the district Human Relations Advisor who serviced schools in the Sentry Section of Region 1. He pointed out that Mrs. Boone, the principal, had requested his assistance in recruiting more parents as volunteers. The advisor was well-known in the neighborhood as a result of his liaison activities between the schools and the community. He said that he "would knock on some doors" to see if he could encourage more parents to get involved as volunteers.

Thus, it appeared that the staff at Cassody School was doing everything possible to encourage parents to become involved at the school as volunteer classroom aides. Yet, the parents were not responding in numbers which satisfied the expectations of the school staff. While the total number of volunteers who worked as classroom aides outside of the

Preschool room at one time or another may have reached 30 or 40, it appeared that the core of people who were regular in their attendance numbered closer to 20. Many of these individuals were aides and other classified personnel who volunteered when they were finished with their regular jobs at the school.

Recruitment Issues and Impediments

One of the differences between the volunteer program implemented during the 1975-1976 school year and efforts during the course of this study was the lack of tangible rewards offered to parents who gave of their time, energy, and expertise as volunteer aides. Discussions about the recruitment of volunteers which occurred between the researcher and people who had been at the school during the previous year nearly always included a reference to the increased number of parents who came to the school when they had a monetary incentive. Some comments revealed strong biases related to differences between the values of middle class teachers and those of low socioeconomic parents. One teacher said:

> They have all the time in the world to come over here and volunteer. Most of them are on welfare and it makes them lazy.

Other individuals were more cautious in their judgments. Several people prefaced their statements about parent involvement by saying, "I don't want to say they're apathetic, but..." The "buts" preceded a variety of comments such as:

> If parents came when they were getting money, it must mean that they have time to come.
>
> or
>
> The hands of the teachers and the principals are tied because the parents don't cooperate.

Comments such as these were not restricted to the professional staff of the school. A number of community people who were employed by the school, and others who were not paid but were actively involved, also believed that the school was making all of the necessary efforts. They felt the responsibility for poor response rested with the parents themselves. One person who lived in the neighborhood said:

> The only time that some parents come out is if they get money. But even last year when the school was paying them I heard people say, "I wouldn't miss my stories for $2.00 an hour." They're just lazy.

However, to the extent that parents were willing to talk about the situation with the researcher, it appeared that money was an incentive for some of those who were involved at the school. One mother said:

> My main excuse for not coming when I was asked to volunteer was that I had a baby. They kept telling me that I could bring the baby with me. But the thing that really got me started coming was when my dad died. Before that I always had some place that I could run when I needed money.

This person did not come to Cassody School believing that involvement at the school was a responsibility or that it was inherently good. She came because it was a way to earn money. During the time of this study she appeared to be a staunch supporter of the school, and said more than once that it was not the school which was at fault for lack of parent involvement, it was the parents themselves. Still, she could relate to the conditions of poverty that surrounded the everyday lives of those in the neighborhood. She said at one point:

> I was just like them. When I first moved here I drank a lot of whiskey. I still drink but not like I used to. It's hard to convince parents that there are other things to do.

It must be made very clear that this parent's situation cannot be generalized to every person who was actively involved at the school. However, there were indications that others who were now employed at the school were also motivated by a more subtle reward system which evolved when the school began hiring paid aides in the late 1960's. In this respect one staff member said:

> Extensive volunteering by parents began when the school started hiring paid aides. The aides were hired from a list of qualified volunteers. In that way, possible employment became an incentive for volunteering.

All of the educational aides with whom the researcher talked about this subject indicated they had volunteered at Cassody or some other school before being hired as an aide. All except one indicated she thought she was hired because of her volunteer work. One mother who started by volunteering was hired for a position which required being on the job for just a few hours a week. She continues to volunteer in her spare time, "because I would like a job that pays more and has longer hours."

Thus, it was apparent at Cassody School that money was an incentive for the initial involvement of many parents as volunteers. In one case the creative organization of a program which paid parents to attend education classes in which the laboratory experience included volunteering in a classroom resulted in 66 parents becoming actively involved as volunteer aides. In another case, the promise of a possible paid job was enough of an incentive to encourage parents to work as volunteer aides. Some teachers reported losing volunteers who did not get paid positions due to a lack of openings, thus supporting this point of view.

In addition to incentives resulting from monetary rewards, it is important to note that all parents who were actively involved at the school and who were asked when they started volunteering indicated they got involved when one of their children was in a Preschool or Head Start class. A typical response was:

> One of my children was in the Preschool class in 1969. I had to volunteer some time. After he got out of Preschool I took to coming into the classroom. I was tutoring and volunteering as an aide. I worked the next summer in a special program and then I was hooked. I loved it. I was hired as an educational aide in 1970.

Other parents told stories which were much the same. To get their children enrolled in Head Start or Preschool classes they had to volunteer some time. That initial involvement led to a continued interest in school activities. One mother traced her involvement history as follows:

> When my son started in Preschool 11 years ago, I had to give some time. When he was in first grade I would come up to the school to make sure that he got here. I helped when I could, but mostly I was involved with the teachers through my son. It was a matter of seeing how he was doing and doing what I could to help. From time to time I came to PTA and Advisory Board meetings. I really got involved in 1972. Before that I was working in an office. In 1972 I came and volunteered and started attending the inservice meetings. That summer four aide positions opened in summer school. I got the fourth position. On October 1, I was hired as a regular educational aide.

Obviously, many of the parents whose children attend Head Start or Preschool classes do not make the transition to volunteering in the classrooms when their children are older. Many of the people at the school believed it was because "the school has no hold on them." That is, the elementary school cannot require that parents get involved as is done in Preschool and Head Start classes. There is undoubtedly much truth to this point of view. On the other hand, the Preschool teacher pointed out there is a difference between volunteering in her classroom and volunteering in the other classrooms in the school. Speaking to this point she said:

> The parents feel at ease. They are not threatened by not knowing something. The atmosphere in the room gives them security to say, "I don't know." There are only 15 children in the room. With my aide, a volunteer and me in the room there are always at least three adults. Sometimes there are more. Furthermore, the child is just starting school. Neither the child or the parent has experienced failure in relationship to this room. Parents don't have a negative attitude toward this room.

A parent whose child was currently enrolled in the Preschool class substantiated the teacher's view that the atmosphere was non-threatening when she described her experiences as a volunteer in the room:

> I come to the room around 8:30. The kids play for a little while. The adults have coffee. I read my newspaper. Maybe some kids want you to read to them. We help them with little things like tying their shoes, and we help them hang up their clothes. At 9:30 they clean up. I may call one child up at a time and help them count. I jump rope with them. I run with them. Sometimes we play "Little Sally Walker." I like it. I don't have to wonder what my child is doing. I can see where she needs help, and I can work with her at home.

In contrast to the relaxed atmosphere in the Preschool class, a parent who had children in other classrooms at Cassody School indicated that she did not like to work as a volunteer aide when she said:

> There is a little too much confusion for me. The children don't seem to be concentrating. I don't like the classroom situation. It makes me nervous. Maybe there are not enough teachers in the classrooms. Most of the time you go in there and the children are wandering around. The teachers are working with a single group. There is not enough control.

In further contrast, a teacher in a primary classroom was asked what her volunteer did to help her. She replied, "I give her a group and she does what she wants to do with them." This response is not meant to typify the role of the volunteer aide at Cassody School. It is merely presented to point out that volunteering might be a very threatening experience for those who are not familiar with the instructional program or with procedures for disciplining and teaching children in the organizational environment of Cassody School. As one paid aide said:

> Volunteer work is very hard. I did the same things as a volunteer as I do as a paid aide. The difference is that as a volunteer you don't have to come and stay a certain time. The obligation is different. The work is the same. But even if you are just volunteering, the child expects you to come everyday. He doesn't know that you aren't getting paid.

The majority of the parents who volunteered as classroom aides worked in the primary classrooms. Speculations about this pattern of involvement in the school suggested several reasons for this situation:

1. Parents may not be aware that they are needed in the upper units. So much emphasis has been put on having a ratio of one adult to each ten children in the PEG classrooms, that little thought is given to providing help for the upper grades.
2. Many parents may not feel secure in dealing with the children in the upper units because of the discipline problems. One teacher said, "Parents shy away from the older children because they are harder to handle."
3. Parents may not be competent in the subject matter of the upper units. In this respect a parent said, "I have only been in my fourth grade child's room once this year. That is partly because my little one requires so much attention and partly because I feel more comfortable in the lower grade rooms. If you don't feel you know what to do, then it's hard to go."

There was evidence to suggest that the latter reason for parents not working in the upper units had equal influence on their decisions not to come to the school to work in any classrooms. A parent who came to the school to help with an outdoor painting project told the researcher she enjoyed doing things outside, but "I don't want to be cooped up in a classroom with all those kids." She went on to say that she grew up in the South and had worked as a share-cropper before coming North approximately seven years ago. As a child she moved frequently so she estimated she had about four years of formal schooling. She indicated she did not feel competent to help the children with their school work.

Another parent reported to the researcher she had been called several times by the school to work as a volunteer classroom aide. When asked why she didn't go she responded, "I'm lacking in education. I like to work with children, but my speech is bad." Parents who did not have much formal education were observed in the school by teachers and the researcher. On teacher reported an incident when a parent came to a primary math class and spent her entire time, taking longer than the children, laboring over the math problems at a learning center. In spite of encouragement and help from the teacher, the parent did not come back. As one staff member said, "Few parents want their kids to see them not being able to do what the kids are doing."

The need for basic education classes for parents was recognized by the school. The problem revolved around finding ways to encourage parents to attend the classes. The adult school located on the Cassody School playground offered basic education classes. Over a period of years Cassody School brought a variety of specialists to the school to conduct parent education classes. Yet, parents were not motivated to attend the classes, and the problem of low educational attainment continued to hamper the involvement efforts at the elementary school level.

The literature review which provided the framework for exploring supports and constraints to school-community relations in an urban, inner-city school suggested that while poor people frequently do not get involved in school activities because of their own lack of education, there are other concerns related to their environment which also act as constraints for involvement. A number of these conditions were substantiated by this study and will be discussed below. The topics include 1) young mothers 2) chronic health problems 3) fear of leaving their homes 4) fear of other parents, and 5) total effects of poverty.

Young Mothers

A large number of respondents indicated that more and more of the mothers of children at the school seemed to be very young when they started having children. As a result, they were still growing up themselves, and had little interest in the school activities of their children. Many of the mothers were unmarried and they were trying to define their own lives. The nurse gave an example of talking with a mother who was 19 years old, and already had a child enrolled in school. A parent who was currently active at the school gave herself as an example. She said:

> I was a mother at 16. I dropped out of school, so I know. You are not mature at that age. Girls that age don't know how to be parents. They have no mother-wit what-so-ever. They don't know how to fix meals or how to sew. They aren't interested in coming to school.

Many of the young mothers also had more than one child. Thus, baby sitting for preschool children was a problem. Teachers said they were frequently told, "If I can get a babysitter, I will come. Then we don't hear from them anymore." Recognizing this problem, a parent indicated the Advisory Council was talking about setting up a nursery in the Parents' Room with a playpen and a baby bed. She went on to say,

> We will rotate babysitting so that the young mothers don't have any excuse not to come.

This objective was not met during the course of this study, although a notice was posted that the Advisory Council was looking for a playpen.

Chronic Health Problems

Poor health was frequently cited as a reason for not coming to the school. The interview summary which is included in Appendix J provides a vivid example of how this condition can affect parent involvement. As further examples, when the researcher accompanied the PSA Counselor on his home visits one mother talked to him about her recurrent fainting spells, another talked about the need to get medication for her heart, and still another talked about being out of blood pressure pills. In addition, children frequently had many health problems which required doctor appointments, and the inevitable waiting at the public health clinic.

Fear of Leaving Their Homes

The conditions in the community in which Cassody School is located have been detailed elsewhere in this study. To reiterate, examples were given by parents of homes being vandalized while occupants were away. During the course of this study, the apartments in Parkwood Village were being remodeled. Parents would not leave their homes while the workmen were there because they did not trust them. Most others did not trust their neighbors either. In this respect a teacher said:

> Parents may come to school for special things, but they won't come on a regular basis unless they can get someone to watch their house. When people know that they are gone at the same time every day, their homes are more likely to be broken into.

Other examples might be presented in relationship to the high crime rate in the community. Parents were no more anxious to walk the streets alone, especially in Parkwood Village, then were teachers. Purse snatchings and other acts of vandalism or assult were not always confined to strangers in the community.

Fear of Other Parents

Numerous people mentioned that the use of drugs and alcohol was very prevalent among some residents in the community. As one person said, "You never know what some of these people are on when they come to the school." Irrational behavior by parents who took issue with those who were dealing with their children was cited by only one volunteer as a possible reason for non-involvement. However, examples of situations which occurred at the school make this a viable issue for consideration. This example was given as an illustration of the problem:

> If you discipline the children, you never know what will happen. Last year there was a lady who came

> to the school and volunteered. She was seven months pregnant. Some parents came to the school and got all over her. They could have shot or cut her. It makes you fearful for your life.

During the time of this study, it was reported that a parent who was actively involved at the school was causing trouble in one of the classrooms. She purportedly told another parent she had a knife and a gun in her purse. At the same time, she was expressing hostility toward the school, thus creating fear she might harm people who were active at the school. As a result of these conditions, which included reports by teachers that some parents came to school after drinking, one can speculate that non-involvement might be the best way to keep from getting hurt.

Total Effects of Poverty

Other personal reasons such as not having appropriate clothes to wear or being pregnant were also cited by parents as reasons for not coming to school. However, the most concise illustration of poverty-related conditions which limited parent involvement was given by a staff member who related this story.

> The parents have so many problems. I talked with a mother today. She has six children. Two of them come to Cassody School. She moved from Dayton Square to get away from the Projects. She pays $160 a month for her house. The heater doesn't work and there are rats. The mailman was robbed last week so she didn't get her welfare check. She has to go to the corner of Civic and Lexington Avenues to get her check. She doesn't have any transportation. She has a hostile social worker who won't help her. With so many problems it is hard to think about getting involved in school.

The issues related to parent involvement in inner-city schools are complex and intricately entwined. Organizational constraints, teacher attitudes, and environmental influences all played a part in the success or failure of efforts to involve parents in activities at the school. In addition, consideration must be given to those parents who work. Despite the large numbers of families at Cassody School who were receiving welfare, at least ten percent of the children's parents held jobs which kept them from attending school activities during the day. Yet, due to conditions in the community, it was considered imprudent to hold meetings, parent education classes, conferences, or school programs at night. In this respect one parent said:

> Teachers think that all the parents in this school are on welfare and that they are dumb. They forget that there are nurses, secretaries, and people who hold other daytime jobs who can't come to the school.

Despite this parent's categorical judgment of all teachers, a number of teachers indicated they were aware of the difficulty which working parents had if they wanted to get involved in school activities. However, most indicated that the children of parents who worked often did better in school and the need to get their parents involved was less urgent than it was for some others.

Orientation and Placement of Volunteers

The major schoolwide effort to orient volunteers to their roles in the total instructional program occurred at the beginning of the year when the "Orientation Tea" was held. Participation by district resource people in the presentation suggests the scope of the program included a general explanation of the role of volunteers in the school as well as addressing the specific needs of Cassody School. The researcher was told that approximately 30 parents attended the meeting. As indicated earlier, planned follow-up did not occur and personal contacts were not made with those who indicated an interest in volunteering. However, in mid-November, 1976, a letter was distributed to the staff from the volunteer coordinator which read as follows:

> Dear Teachers,
>
> The volunteers on the accompanying sheet have been assigned to these rooms for the present time. Please check the list. If you have a volunteer who has not shown up yet, please call to encourage their participation. If there is no phone you may write a personal note encouraging them to come.
>
> After the volunteer has come to participate, please encourage them to come again or to extend their participation hours.

The list which accompanied the above letter contained the names of 29 parents who were assigned to various classrooms on certain days of the week and for varying hours. A spot check with teachers whose room numbers were listed on the form indicated that none of them had volunteers in their rooms. A typical response from those who were asked about the situation was as follows:

> I'm supposed to have a parent volunteer. I haven't seen her. She doesn't have a phone and I haven't contacted her. I wasn't asked if I wanted a volunteer. She was just assigned to me.

Other teachers also indicated they were not asked if they would like to have a volunteer in their room or queried as to their needs for additional help. Names were acquired by the volunteer coordinator who conferred with the PEG coordinator and the Title I instructional coordinator to decide where parents would be assigned. Teacher responses to questions about this procedure suggested they had little personal investment in this part of the volunteer program. One indication of the low priority attached to the activity was that none of the teachers with whom the researcher spoke had made an effort to call the volunteer listed for their room. In addition, statements such as "I don't have any volunteers from the program which Miss Washington administers," and "I don't know how the volunteer program is set up in the school," indicated there was little relationship between administrative efforts to recruit volunteers and teacher participation in the process.

Parents who were not recruited as a result of the Orientation Tea were likely to be limited in their knowledge of the role of volunteers in the school. If a teacher made a personal contact with the parent, she or he was able to describe the kinds of things the parent could do in that particular room. If the contact was made by one of the Community Representatives, by the Human Relations Advisor, or other school personnel information about the role of volunteers was likely to be generalized. It appears that there was no systemmatic effort to acquaint parents with the physical facilities, schedules, or policies and rules of the school before they started volunteering. While an informal approach to involvement in the school may have been expedient and even necessary as a result of various constraints for a more organized program, it can be speculated that parents who were not familiar with the culture of the school might find such a situation highly threatening.

Preservice and Inservice Training for Volunteers

The parent education class, mentioned as a communication activity in the previous chapter, represented a systemmatic effort to help parents who wished to work with their own children at home or with children in classrooms at the school. Topics addressed in the class were identified by parents during the programmatic needs assessment as subjects which would contribute to helping them learn more about the instructional program. Parents were encouraged to attend the class in preparation for volunteering as an aide or to upgrade their skills if they were already involved.

Specific training for volunteers in individual classrooms was the responsibility of the classroom teacher. In this respect, the training was often limited by the time teachers had to spend with their volunteers. Those parents who came to a room on a regular basis were assigned routine tasks which could be duplicated on each visit. Parents who were irregular in their attendance and did not come at a time when teachers could talk with them complained that it was difficult for them to know what to do. At the same time, some teachers felt they could not take time from their own instructional responsibilities to explain in detail what the volunteer could do to help.

Inservice meetings for staff members were open to parents who volunteered at the school. In addition, regular volunteers were encouraged to attend the IGE conference that was held at the school in October, 1976. Parents who attended this conference, as well as those who attended the human relations workshop conducted by the researcher in January, 1977, were paid for their involvement. Approximately ten parents, most of whom were employed by the school in some capacity, attended the latter meeting.

The extent to which preservice and inservice training was a systemmatic element in the volunteer program at Cassody School was dependent on the regularity with which individual parents were involved at the school. Efforts to make this component systemmatic were thwarted by the lack of a full-time coordinator who could follow up on recruitment efforts by arranging mini-orientation sessions and by the pattern of involvement of parents at the school. Teachers had little time to provide training for volunteers who did not come on a regular basis or for those who failed to attend the organized parent education class.

Recognition for Volunteers

Recognition and rewards were identified as an important part of the volunteer program by both the Title III coordinator who had been at the school during the previous year and by the volunteer coordinator who was at the school during the first semester of the 1976-1977 school year. When asked about incentives other than money for parents who were involved in the Title III project, the coordinator said:

> We did much calling on a one-to-one basis. Parents were given much positive reinforcement for becoming involved. All of the luncheons and parties that were held by the staff were open to parents.

As an on-going activity, recognition for volunteers was limited during the current school year to reinforcement provided by individual teachers. The school not having a full-time volunteer coordinator limited the organization of systemmatic reinforcement. As an example, during the previous year the Title III coordinator not only called parents but they also felt free to call her at home. She was identified as the person who was able to help them with problems when they were having difficulty working with individual teachers or when they needed advice on how to handle other unfamiliar situations. Their efforts were reinforced simply by knowing that they were important enough to have someone in charge of their welfare at the school.

The volunteer coordinator during the 1976-1977 school year knew it would be ideal for the same situation to continue to exist. She talked about putting up parent pictures on an office bulletin board and other recognition devices which had been successful in her classroom and in the entire school during the previous year. However, her limited tenure in the volunteer coordinator position as well as the limitations imposed by a full-time teaching job, prohibited a school-wide recognition plan.

At the end of the 1975-1976 school year, an elaborate Parent Appreciation Day was held at Cassody School. Trophies, purchased by a sorority to which the Title III coordinator belonged, were awarded to parents with the most volunteer hours. Door prizes were awarded, entertainment was provided, and representatives from the district office were in attendance. This study was terminated before the end of the school year so it was too early to determine the extent to which such formal recognition activities would be a part of the current school-community relations program.

Evaluation

During the previous school year the volunteer program was evaluated by parents, teachers, and other staff members on a variety of criteria. The time limitations of this study precluded obtaining similar information for the 1976-1977 year. The on-going evaluation of the program appeared to be primarily related to the number of volunteers who could be encouraged to get involved by the school.

Other Involvement Activities

It should be reiterated that involvement as volunteer aides was not the only opportunity available for parents to give of their time, energy, and resources. In addition to activities mentioned in the previous chapter, parents were also encouraged to volunteer as chaperones for field trips, to help on the playground, and to help with culminating activities in the sixth grade. They were asked to assist with club activities. One parent even taught several classes of children how to make yarn dolls during the course of this study. These activities were not programmatic in the sense that they had specific objectives, but they were part of a total effort to provide as many opportunities as possible for parents to be involved at the school. Again, the response from parents was minimal. Yet, those who were involved provided significant services to the school.

Perhaps the most successful non-programmatic activity observed at Cassody School was the involvement of the Drill Team Mothers. The Girls' Drill Team at Cassody School was organized as part of an after-school playground activity. The playground program at Cassody School is part of the Silver Lake recreational program which provides equipment and the services of a playground director during after school hours and school holidays. The playground director at Cassody School was Mrs. Overman, an intermediate teacher at the school.

One of the activities which Mrs. Overman sponsored, "because I like it", was the girls' drill team. Girls in the school were given an opportunity to "try out" for the team. All of the fifty girls who indicated an interest were allowed to participate by attending practice sessions after school. The high point of the drill team's activity was to march in the Traceway Christmas Parade, an event which was televised to the entire Silver Lake community. In addition, the team performed for children and parents at the school during an outdoor assembly and at other events as occasions arose.

Several levels of parent involvement were required to make the drill team a success. Some mothers came to the school and helped Mrs. Overman with the practice sessions. One mother marched in the Christmas parade with the girls. Others provided transportation to the parade for girls who had no way to get there. All parents became involved by supplying their daughters with $12.50 to help pay for the cost of uniforms. The girls wore blue jumpers, red blouses, red gloves, red knee socks, and blue knit caps. The jumpers had been made by parents during the previous school year. However, many mothers and older sisters were involved in adjusting these jumpers to fit the girls for this year. One mother organized a group of mothers to make tassles for the caps before the performances this year. Several mothers volunteered to be at the school before performances to help the girls get dressed.

Three mothers indicated that their involvement with the instructional program at Cassody School began as a result of helping with drill team activities either this year or in previous years. One mother indicated it was through this activity that she met the chairperson of the Advisory Council and was encouraged to attend Advisory Council meetings. The others indicated that Mrs. Overman was easy to talk with and she encouraged them to work as volunteer aides.

The drill team represented a significant communication as well as an involvement activity at Cassody School. Neighborhood residents who attended the Traceway Parade and citizens of the larger community who viewed the parade on television were treated to an "eye-pleasing" treat of trained marchers who demonstrated they had practiced long hours to master the steps of interesting marching maneuvers. A large "Cassody School" banner preceded the group of performers and announced to all who observed that learning at this school did not stop at the classroom door. Thus, while the drill team was not directly related to the instructional program at Cassody School, it represented a substantial involvement and communication effort for parents and other subpublics within the community.

The success of the drill team was attributed by the parents to Mrs. Overman, the drill team director. This was made clear when the parents planned a recognition luncheon for Mrs. Overman, and they invited the rest of the staff to participate. This event was marked by the following observations. First, the luncheon was an ambitious undertaking for the approximately ten mothers who appeared to be cooperating in making it happen. They prepared food at home and brought it to the multi-purpose room of the school where it was to be served at 2:30 on a Thursday afternoon. Secondly, the difficulty of managing such an event was marked by what appeared to be discrepant values for the meaning of time between the involved parents and a large part of the staff. Thus, many staff members arrived at the appointed time and left long before the serving line was started. At 2:30, it appeared that things were just beginning to be organized. By 3:00, when staff members who drove long distances to the school began looking at their watches, some of the food was just arriving. Shortly thereafter, a tribute was given to Mrs. Overman. However, by the time the researcher left at 3:30, Mrs. Overman and the drill team members were just starting through the serving line. Some staff members remained but it was obvious that a large number had left for the day.

The meaning of these observations are largely speculative. However, it was apparent that the drill team mothers were very grateful to Mrs. Overman for the work she had done with their children. The overt demonstration of their gratitude appeared to be a marked contrast to other observations and information received by the researcher which indicated that large numbers of the parents did not provide teachers with positive feedback regardless of their instructional efforts with the children.

Both parents and teachers projected latent messages about their values related to time. Being on time and organized were middle class values stressed by the school. Parents, however, did not take into consideration that many teachers used their time after school for planning or left the school by 3:00, having other commitments often long distances away. This time-related conflict was frequently generalized by teachers who reported tardiness on the part of aides and volunteers as one of the problems related to working with parents. Thus, a major effort to "reach out" on the part of the drill team mothers was observed by some staff members as an exercise in waiting and wasting valuable time as the event got organized. Yet, it was recognized by most people that the intentions of the parents were sincere and admirable, considering the task they had undertaken.

One other observation is made about the success of involvement as it related to drill team activities. Teachers frequently mentioned that parents supported activities, whether of the communication or involvement type, when their children were involved. References were made to large numbers of parents who previously attended evening Christmas programs and other events at which their children performed. With the termination of night-time events due to the increased crime rate in the community, these events were no longer held. It appeared that the drill team was the last of a vestige of "traditional" involvement activities carried out on a school-wide basis.

Findings

The following findings are related to involvement as a home-school-community relations process:

A. Goals and Outcomes

1. Involvement activities were aimed primarily at achieving the goals of
   a. increased communication.
   b. support for school programs and activities.
   c. increased child growth, development, and achievement.

2. One measure of support for the school was improved behavior by children of parents who were involved.

B. Programmatic Elements

1. The primary involvement effort at Cassody School was the recruitment of volunteer aides.

2. Coordination of the volunteer program was limited by lack of resources for a full-time coordinator.

3. Preservice and inservice training for the staff and volunteers as well as placement and orientation of of volunteers were not systemmatic elements of the program.

4. Volunteer recognition and evaluation were identified elements of the program which were not easily observed during the time of this study.

5. Roles and responsibilities for the volunteer program were not clearly defined.

C. Organizational Supports and Constraints

1. Teacher attitudes at the time of initial parent efforts to become involved tended to encourage or discourage further involvement at the school.

2. Lack of teacher training and orientation to home-school-community relations goals impeded school-wide efforts for increased parent involvement.

3. Lack of involvement by parents was perceived by some school employees as a sign of parental apathy or non-concern.

4. Money and career advancement were incentives for involvement at Cassody School.

5. Parents actively involved at Cassody School credited required involvement in Preschool and Head Start classes as an incentive for continued interest in school activities.

6. Patterns of organization for instruction may have negatively influenced systemmatic involvement by some parents.

D. Community Constraints

1. The following conditions in the community were identified as possible constraints to parent involvement:
    a. Low educational levels
    b. Large numbers of young mothers
    c. Chronic health problems
    d. Parent fears of leaving their homes
    e. Fear of other parents
    f. Total effects of poverty on parental attitudes

The following chapter describes and interprets activities related to the remaining home-school-community relations processes of participation, analysis and resolution.

CHAPTER VIII

PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA: PARTICIPATION, ANALYSIS, AND RESOLUTION AS HOME-SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROCESSES

The home-school-community relations process of participation is discussed in this chapter in relationship to the degree of analysis and the modes of resolution which occurred at Cassody School. Participation is defined in the Home-School-Community Relations Model as a process which provides access to the decision and policy making processes at a school. Analysis is the process by which issues and subpublics are identified and associated with individuals or groups who express them as concerns. Resolution is a process designed to solve problems and to reduce actual or potential conflict. The latter process may be operationalized as rational problem solving, persuasion, bargaining, or the exercise of raw power.

The presentation and interpretation of data related to participation, analysis and resolution is integrated as a means of illustrating the relationship between the three processes. Using a comprehensive approach it is possible to identify who participates, how they participate, and to identify the outcomes of the participation process. This is accomplished by describing formal participation mechanisms at Cassody School, identifying participating and non-participating subpublics, and identifying analysis and resolution procedures which influence the meaning of participation at the school.

Two formal participation arrangements are designed to provide access to decision making at Cassody School. These are the multiunit structure of organization for subpublics within the school, and the advisory council for subpublics outside of the school. Each of these arrangements is discussed separately.

The Multiunit Structure

The multiunit structure at Cassody School was described in Chapter IV. It is within this structure that the instructional staff is organized into teams which are scheduled to meet weekly to discuss the needs of children, and issues related to the instructional role of the team. Team concerns are forwarded to the principal who then formulates agendas for meetings of the Instructional Improvement Committee and the Principal's Cabinet.

The Instructional Improvement Committee (IIC) is the schoolwide decision making body for matters concerning planning and implementing the instructional program. The IIC is composed of team leaders, specialist teachers, coordinators, a parent representative, and principal. The Principal's Cabinet is made up of the four coordinators and the principal to deal with "administrative matters."

In addition to these participatory mechanisms, the Primary Education Growth (PEG) coordinator and the Title I instructional coordinator meet separately with teachers in the PEG and Title I units at regular intervals. During the course of this study weekly staff meetings and inservice meetings were also held.

The formal structure of the school provided the staff with numerous opportunities for input into the school program. Teachers indicated they participated in decision making related to the selection of materials, determination of need areas for staff development, and finding of solutions to student problems. Teachers and other staff members were also assigned to various committees for curriculum development, special observances, and other specialized planning. However, even with these inputs, there was evidence to suggest teachers did not perceive themselves as having a meaningful part in the decision making processes related to the instructional program. Referring to shared decision making at the team level, a teacher stated:

> I don't feel that I am involved in the decision making structure of this school. We may have had two team meetings but I think we have had only one (January 17, 1977 interview). All of the other times that we met have been for inservices. Last week was the first meeting where team issues were discussed. We haven't talked about things like individual learning styles and problems on the team.

Responses to questions about the decision making role of the Instructional Improvement Committee suggested representatives reviewed school policies such as the use and distribution of supplies and materials, set school-wide instructional objectives and addressed a variety of concerns related to students. One representative suggested:

> The IIC can be called a decision making body with approval. If we are given the okay we can make decisions.

The perception that decisions related to instructional issues such as grouping, movement of children, and modes of teaching were not delegated to teachers was summarized by a person who made this statement:

> As far as the instructional program itself, the decisions come from the administration. We are told what to teach and how to teach it.

There was considerable evidence during this study to indicate that the operationalization of the instructional program at Cassody School had been a source of conflict since its inception. While numbers of teachers accepted the philosophy of the IGE program as it was being implemented and certain individuals provided outstanding leadership as resource people, it appears that a large number of the staff was never totally committed to the program.

Though much of the resistance by the staff toward the instructional program was latent, conflict at the school became manifest during the 1975-1976 school year. The conflict centered around five teachers who did not want to be part of a teaching team. These teachers eventually were given, and accepted, the option to maintain self-contained classrooms. Because of the stress caused by the conflict and the inability of the Instructional Improvement Committee to carry out its decision making and policy making functions, a Mediation Committee was formed as a part of the staff organization at the school.

The committee was made up of one elected representative from each of the following subpublics within the school: clerical, custodial, cafeteria, administration, Preschool, teacher aides, and parents. Two representatives each were elected from grades kindergarten through three, grades four through six, and from the group of resource teachers. The chairperson of the Staff Association was an ex officio member of the committee.

The purpose of the Mediation Committee as stated in committee bylaws was: "To mediate concerns regarding school policy and functions." The bylaws also outlined elaborate procedures for staff members to make their concerns known to the committee. A locked "Concerns Box" was placed in the school office. Persons who wished to make their concerns known were asked to complete and sign a "Concerns Form". This form was placed in the box and could only be removed by the committee chairperson. The chairperson was charged with providing an agenda for Committee meetings based on concerns placed in the box. The actual signed concern forms and names of those who submitted them were to be seen and known only by the chairperson.

Concerns and possible solutions were discussed at Mediation Committee meetings. These concerns were then presented at a monthly Mediation-Administration meeting. Members of the Mediation-Administration Committee included the principal, Mediation Committee chairperson, Mediation Committee secretary, and four Mediation Committee members appointed by the committee chairperson. A report of the decisions of this committee was then given at the next meetings of the Staff Association and the Mediation Committee.

Minutes of the Mediation Committee meetings were made available to the researcher. A variety of concerns and possible solutions were contained in these documents. The most concise summary of issues related to the instructional program was presented in the December 10, 1975 minutes which contained the following statements:

> Concern # 8
>
> Some members of our staff have decided not to participate in the school program. I do not feel this is fair or beneficial to the children for some people to do one thing and for others to do another. If this situation is allowed to continue, each person may decide what type of program he or she will have in their classrooms and our school will have no program.
>
> A. The person writing the concern brought to the committee persons who could answer why the change took place.
>
> B. The following were reasons given for the acceptance of self containment:
>
> 1. Self containment was offered two or three times as an alternative by those who accepted.
> 2. Team meetings were held but they did not effectively solve problems.
> 3. Children resented having to leave their homerooms.
> 4. There are conflicts in time blocks.
> 5. There is daily confusion as to what we are to do.
> 6. There is too much loss of teaching time due to children changing classes so often.
> 7. Reorganization of teams occurs too often.
> 8. The skill groups contain children of too many different ages.
> 9. Too many visitors. There are daily interruptions.
> 10. There is lack of organization. Teams never get together. Skill groupings are not accurate.
> 11. This is the fourth year in IGE and the children are still not learning.
> 12. There is not enough planning time.
> 13. Everyone should work on the needs assessment.
> 14. Teachers are happy the way that they are.

The teachers who chose not to be a part of a teaching team were easily identified. Their open resistance was frequently given as an example of the difficulties which existed in relationship to the instructional program. Few informants were willing to talk about those teachers who resisted more passively. However one person said:

> Lots of people were not committed to the program. They acted like they did the program. But the program was not happening in the rooms the way that it was written on paper.

Four of the five teachers who maintained self-contained classrooms during the 1975-1976 school year were transferred as part of the desegregation plan. But as this study progressed, it became apparent that a number of those teachers who passively resisted by "closing the door and doing their own thing" were still employed at the school. The Mediation Committee was not part of the school organization during the course of this study. The explanation for its absence was, "There isn't the same need in the school as there was last year." Yet, many of the same issues as those listed in the Committee minutes are cited as current issues in Chapter IV.

Analysis, as defined in the Home-School-Community Relations Model, was not a programmatic process at Cassody School. However, it is obvious that analysis occurred a priori through the formal mechanisms of the Instructional Improvement Committee and the Mediation Committee. While the identity of all concerned subpublics may not have been accurate due to the passivity of some resisters, issues related to the instructional program were well-known to the subpublics within the school. There is little reason to doubt they were also known to the principal, Mrs. Boone.

The apparent non-resolution of issues related to the instructional program contributed to negative perceptions by teachers concerning the extent to which they were included in decision making in the school. While mechanisms were provided to solicit their opinions, much of the participation effort by teachers was perceived by them as symbolic in nature. In this respect, a teacher used the following example to illustrate her perception of shared decision making in the school:

> We had a staff meeting and it was decided that cross-age tutoring would be voluntary. Not all of the teachers signed up. The next thing we know, Mrs. Boone is mad because not everyone signed up. She makes most of the decisions around here.

Another person responded to questions about the multigrade grouping patterns in the school with this statement:

> I can't remember exactly how this came about, but it was something that Mrs. Boone advocated. Teachers don't like it and parents, especially those who work here, don't like it. But we can't get it changed. Last year we had a workshop to work on refinement. One of the refinements was to be that there be only one or two grade levels in a room. Nothing came of it.

A common theme among respondents was that teachers are provided with opportunities to make suggestions about the program which are then not accepted by the principal. In this respect one person said:

> Last year we had a coordinator who saw the problem. We had some workshops on Saturdays. We were trying

> to work out an intelligent way to make our feelings known. We were trying to find a suitable way to bring our grievances to Mrs. Boone's attention. Nothing really changed. She says, "If you show me on paper that this is better than that, then we will change it." If there was a change, it wouldn't be what we wanted anyhow. It was what _she_ wanted.

The feeling of powerlessness which pervaded respondent comments when they talked about changing the instructional program at the school was summarized by this statement:

> Mostly people feel that Mrs. Boone has a closed mind in relationship to the program. We know that whatever we say, she has already made up her mind.

It was not only that staff members felt Mrs. Boone was unwilling to hear their suggestions for changes in the instructional program which seemed to disturb people at the school, but many comments focused on the diminished importance people felt when they confronted Mrs. Boone. One person explained the situation as follows:

> There is always a topic of "concerns" on the IIC agenda. But frequently if you express your concerns, you are made to look like a fool. She talks down to you.

Thus, participation and the mode of resolution which operated at Cassody School in relationship to questions about the instructional program appeared to be regulated by a technique of agenda control. Used in it broad sense, this term suggests that tasks and discussions were structured in such a way that certain things were not talked about.

Further, choices were limited within a narrow framework of options or procedures for change were so complicated they were perceived not to be worth the time and energy necessary to produce results. Consequently, a great deal of residual animosity was apparent at Cassody School.

Efforts to understand the resolution process at Cassody School were complicated by subtle inuendos of teacher attitudes toward the principal. In spite of complaints about non-resolution of issues related to the instructional program, Mrs. Boone's knowledge of curriculum and her planning skills were respected by many teachers. Comments such as, "I have learned a lot from Mrs. Boone," or "She is tops in her field," were not unusual. Similarly, negative comments about other phases of the school operation were often accompanied by positive comments about the principal such as, "She's good on organization," or "She works hard to get new programs into the school." Frequently it appeared that the respondents were talking about two different people. Then, on the last day of this study, the following statement was made to the researcher by a black teacher:

> You can't understand what is going on here because you aren't black. Mrs. Boone set out to prove that black kids can learn. She is a black woman who has had to make it in a white system. Even if we don't agree with her, we can't let her fail.

Thus, it is speculated that while some teachers did not hold common goals with the principal concerning how the instructional program at the school should be operationalized, they deferred to her leadership not only because of her expertise and authority, but because of the emotional appeal of her purpose. Some tried to use rational decision making processes, some tried persuasion, others bargained. But when these modes of resolution failed, those black teachers who were at the school during the 1976-1977 school year were not willing to challenge the principal's authority. Cassody School provided a social statement for the community. Black children were being taught by predominantly black teachers and leadership was being provided by a black principal. Together they had received much publicity and the instructional program was perceived to be effective by those outside of the school. The stakes were too high to permit direct confrontation.

With the advent of the teacher desegregation plan a new attitudinal variable was introduced into the school. Mrs. Boone tried to hire experienced teachers who appeared to be able to handle the challenges of the inner-city assignment. As a result, those who were hired from the district's approved list came to the school with a variety of established educational philosophies and experiences. Several found it difficult to adjust to the processes of participation and resolution operating within the school. One new teacher summed up the situation from her perspective this way:

> This school doesn't lend itself to new teachers coming in with different backgrounds. It's hard to communicate with people who were here before. I have had many different experiences. The teachers at this school have been here for a long time. There is a lack of flexibility. . . a lack of looking at other possibilities for instruction.

Another new teacher assessed the situation as follows:

> The difference between Mrs. Boone and me is that she encourages you to accept the problem, to live with it, to understand it. I prefer to solve it. It seems logical to change those things that are causing problems.

The new white teachers did not have the same stakes in the school and instructional program as those who were there before. At first the new teachers tried to use the multiunit structure for making their feelings known. When they found they were unable to communicate effectively with other teachers, unit leaders, coordinators, and the principal, the more verbal new staff members attempted direct confrontation. One person described a meeting with the principal as follows:

> Finally, after being told that I'd better evaluate myself and all kinds of other things that I heard before, I banged my fist on the table and said that we had a problem that needed solving now. Then it was simple. Mrs. Boone asked what we needed and within ten minutes everything was taken care of.

However, it was apparent to several people there was no way to persuade change or bargain about the instructional program. It was then that they used their only remaining source of power. They resigned. Three new teachers talked about the reasons for their resignations with the researcher. All three said that as a result of talking with Mrs. Boone before accepting the assignment, they came to the school enthusiastically. All had different reasons for their choices but the following example was given by one new teacher:

> I came to Cassody School with a positive attitude. I had a contract, I would get tenure, and I was told that there were tons of ways to move up. That is, there are several administrative positions in the school and promotion was possible. But I am disillusioned with the program. We spent twelve hours teaching one reading skill. It could have been incorporated into daily lesson plans if children were reading books.

This person went on to say:

> I tried to explain my frustrations in a team meeting. I was told that I had a lot to learn about the program and that I was inexperienced in the problems of the inner-city. They lost communication with me right then.

Official resignation notices from the teachers did not mention the instructional program at the school. Yet, there is little doubt that the program and ways in which participation and resolution were handled had an effect on their decisions. Nonetheless, it must be pointed out that the resignation of white staff members was not unique to Cassody School. The reader should not be led to infer from the previous discussion that the new teachers, or the "old" ones for that matter, were without responsibility for the climate existing in the school. The nature of the community, the conflict with which the principal was confronted when she came to Cassody School, and the "hidden agendas" of participants in the in-school community which may not have been revealed to the researcher were undoubtedly all factors in the way in which decisions were reached. At the same time, it must be recognized that the principal was perceived to be authoritarian in her approach to decision making about the instructional program and that changes were likely to occur only through force or persistant, aggressive behavior on the part of participants.

The impact of the processes of analysis, participation, and resolution as they operated among the school staff are directly related to the meaning of these processes in the home-school-community relations program. This relationship is addressed in the final section of this chapter. However, it is first necessary to describe the formal participatory mechanism for parents, namely, the School-Community Advisory Council.

School-Community Advisory Council

Board policy established by the Silver Lake School District, as well as guidelines for Title I and PEG Programs, mandate that local schools have Advisory Councils. The purpose of such a council is outlined as follows:

> The School-Community Advisory Council shall participate in decision making by advising the principal in matters pertaining to the local school and its educational program. The council is a resource to the school and to the principal who remains responsible for decisions which are necessary to the administration and supervision of the school. The term advising is intended to mean: (1) inquiring; (2) informing; (3) suggesting; (4) recommending; and (5) evaluating.

The Advisory Council at Cassody School was scheduled to meet on the fourth Tuesday of every month at 10 a.m. These meetings had been held in the evening in the past but due to safety problems in the community, this activity like others, was changed to a daylight time. Parents were advised early in the year of the time and dates of Advisory Council meetings in a letter from the principal. Reminders were sent a day or two in advance of each meeting and starting in December, 1976, the Community Representatives made personal calls to encourage parents to attend the meetings. The first two meetings of the school year were held at their scheduled times. The November meeting was cancelled and the December meeting was replaced by a Christmas program. The January, 1977, meeting was held on the second Thursday of the month at 1:30 p.m.

The researcher attended the January meeting as an observer. A summary of that observation is included in Appendix P. Since this was the only meeting held while this study was being conducted, the researcher is unable to ascertain if it was typical of other meetings held by the Council. The principal was out of the building at the time. She was represented by the Title I management coordinator. In spite of these limitations, this observation along with other data obtained in the study, provide the basis for the following discussion on those who participate through the Advisory Council, the functions of the Council, and the meaning of participation at Cassody School.

Participating Subpublics

Membership on the Advisory Council at Cassody School is voluntary and open. That is, individuals are not elected to the Council; they are considered members if they attend a meeting. The only limitation is that 51 percent of those on the Council must be parents and a member cannot hold office unless he or she has children in the PEG or Title I programs.[1] The members who attended the January, 1977 meeting of the Council are listed in Table 11 according to subpublics which were represented.

An on-going effort is made to recruit new members for the Advisory Council. However, it appears that the stable core of people who attended Advisory Council meetings were those who were active in other school affairs. One-third of those who attended the January meeting were classified employees of the school and two-thirds were known by the researcher to be volunteers at the school. All of the active participants at the January meeting were members of the latter two categories. Other parents who were at the meeting could be considered to be observers.

Non-Participating Subpublics

It has already been noted in Chapter V that parents of low achieving students were identified as a subpublic which did not generally attend Advisory Council meetings. In addition, it should be noted that all of the members who were present at the January, 1977, Advisory Council meeting had a direct connection as parents or grandparents to

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[1] All of the children at Cassody School were identified as Title I participants. Children in kindergarten through third grade were PEG participants. Thus, all of the parents of children at the school were eligible to hold office on the Advisory Council.

TABLE 11

REPRESENTATIVE SUBPUBLICS AT ADVISORY COUNCIL MEETING

Members	Educational Aide	Other paraprofessional employed by the school	Parent	Grandparent	Businessperson	Title I Management Coordinator	Volunteers (Known to the Researcher)	Active Participants at the Meeting
A			X				X	X
B				X	X		X	X
C			X					
D	X		X				X	X
E			X				X	
F	X			X			X	
G			X				X	
H			X					
I		X	X				X	X
J			X					
K						X		
L	X		X				X	
M			X				X	
N		X		X			X	X
O			X					
P			X					
Q		X	X				X	X
R			X					
S			X				X	X

children at the school. Two subpublics suggested for inclusion on the Advisory Council by district guidelines but not represented at the meeting are community representatives and faculty. These groups are discussed below.

Community Representatives

Letters were sent to five community representatives in July, 1976 inviting them to become members of the Cassody School Advisory Council. One person responded to the letter. None of those invited had attended any meetings before the termination of this study. In an effort to determine why the response was not more positive and to learn the extent of the school's relationships beyond the parental subpublic, interviews were conducted with each of these invited individuals. The following information about the prospective Council members was obtained.

Dr. Otterson is a black psychologist at a large medical facility in Traceway. He said that he did not receive a letter from the school. Because of the size of facility at which he was employed, he speculated the letter may have been lost in the interdepartmental mail. Dr. Otterson said that his relationship with Cassody School dated back to the 1974-1975 school year. At that time he was assigned by his Chief to respond to a request from a coordinator at Cassody School to work with teachers on interpersonal and team building skills.

Dr. Miller, a black pediatrician at the same medical facility mentioned above, said he responded to the letter from Cassody School and indicated he would be glad to participate on the Advisory Council. He went on to say, "I haven't heard any more from them. I presume that they will contact me when there is a need." Dr. Miller's association with Cassody School also involved inservice meetings which he conducted for parents and teachers.

Mrs. Lake is employed by the Silver Lake Housing Authority. Although her office is in another housing project she does live in Parkwood Village. She said:

> I was invited to join the Advisory Council. The letter said that I would be notified of the meetings. I never heard another word from them.

Mrs. Lake's association with the school dates back to the 1960's when her children were students at Cassody. In 1971 she conducted training sessions for the Advisory Council at the school.

Mr. Webster is a government official who has an office in Traceway. The researcher was unable to discern if he had received the letter from Cassody School. He was one of the officials who had been called upon for assistance in ridding the community around Cassody School of trash, old buildings, and transient derelicts.

Reverend Shilling is the minister of the New Day Baptist Church in Traceway. He said that he did not remember getting a letter inviting him to be on the Advisory Council but if there was some way in which he could help, he would. He said Mrs. Boone had talked to his congregation about school needs and that some of the children in the church attended Cassody School.

It appears from the information cited above that either the letters from the school did not reach the individuals for whom they were intended or they they were misinterpreted by the recipients. Further conversation with these prospective Advisory Council members suggested they needed monthly reminders of the meetings just as those sent to parents. In addition, it can be speculated they considered themselves to be resource people who would be happy to adjust their busy schedules for a specific need but it was not likely they were inclined to get involved in routine matters at the school. However, in January, 1977, a schedule of future Advisory Council meetings and another letter of invitation to work with the Council was mailed to each of the above mentioned community members.

Faculty Representatives

It is not known to the researcher if there was an elected faculty representative to the Advisory Council. Most of the teachers knew there was a Council but knowledge of how it worked and what it did varied among staff members. Teachers who were new to the school had little knowledge of its functions. Some of the teachers who had been at the school for several years indicated they had attended Advisory Council meetings in the past. Only one person made reference to having a staff representative, as such, on the Council when it was stated:

> They meet once a month, and usually they ask for one teacher to attend. I haven't ever been to a meeting.

Classroom teacher attendance at Advisory Council meetings was limited primarily by two factors. First, meetings were held during the school day and it appeared no provision was made to release teachers to attend the meetings. In this respect a teacher said:

> I really wanted to attend the last meeting where they were going to talk about integration. But it was at 1:00. I would like to go to the meetings. Maybe someone will release me next time.

The second factor which inhibited teacher attendance, even for those specialist teachers and coordinators whose schedules were more flexible, was the amount of time available to them during the school day. Time itself tended to be viewed as a resource which was allocated to instructional responsibilities rather than expendable for home-school-community relations activities. This point of view was illustrated by a person who said:

> I try to get to Advisory Council meetings. But there just isn't time to do everything. I am here at 7 a.m. as it is.

The pattern of representation on the Advisory Council suggests that participation through this formal mechanism is limited primarily to parents and grandparents who have children in the school. One parent who had a small store in Traceway could be considered a representative of another community subpublic. Other community people who had been invited to become members of the Council had not done so during the course of this study. Faculty representation appeared to be a voluntary activity which was inhibited both by the time of day that the meetings were held and the limited amount of time in the school day for attending such activities.

Functions of the Advisory Council

One of the functions of Advisory Councils, as listed in the district guidelines, includes the following reference to participation:

> It is a function of the School-Community Advisory Council to participate in the decision making process of the school through involvement in the assessment of educational needs, the establishment of priorities, the planning of the educational program and budget resources for it, the definition of goals, and the evaluation of the school and its academic effectiveness.

Due to time limitations of the study, each of these functions of the Advisory Council at Cassody School could not be observed. It is known that formal assessment surveys for parents are provided by the state and that these are completed by parents who attend meetings of the Advisory Council. Other parents also have an opportunity to provide responses to the questionnaire during parent conferences. At one time, assessment questionnaires were sent to all parents but the lack of response led the school to try to obtain as much input as possible through face to face contacts.

Advisory Council meetings such as the one reported in Appendix P also provide an opportunity for parents to participate in informal assessment. It is noted that while the chairperson tried to keep the meeting focused on issues related to desegregation, numerous other issues came to light. Included among these were statements related to the movement of children, discipline and corporal punishment, the ability of the children in the school to read, and homework.

The role of the Advisory Council in the actual program planning process was described by the principal as follows:

> Every year when we come in for refinement, I go to the Advisory Board and I recommend the program. Then they come with me to the staff and I do them just like the president does his cabinet. The president recommends his program and his budget and everything to the cabinet people, to the legislature. I recommend the program to these people.
>
> I take my program to the Parent Advisory Council first. They make alterations or suggestions or whatever else and then I revise it. Then I go to the staff. This is the program with recommendations first from the principal and then from the Advisory Board.
>
> I stand up and I have everything written. I take an hour and a half at the staff meeting. . . just recommending the program for the next year and the budgets, you know. I have copies for all of them. These are the working papers. I do them just like the legislative people. I say, "Now you study this. Then let's set up another meeting." They state the time of the meeting. I say, "At that time all Advisory Council members, the principal, and the staff will work."
>
> Everyone has working papers, and at this time we will talk about what refinements need to be built in, or if the total program should be changed or if we continue. I'm going to defend my program. They have this opportunity and if their revisions do not change the profile of the program and so forth, and if it's proved that it is advantageous, it's included. But if it's not related to whatever we're doing, we just vote it out.

In addition to participating in formal assessment and program planning procedures, the Advisory Council also participates in the evaluation process. Much of this is done with surveys at the end of the school year. However, the researcher also accompanied the Advisory Council Chairperson and another member on a tour of the school to evaluate what was happening in the rooms. This evaluation visit was timed to precede the state Evaluation Team visit which was to occur in February, 1977. The chairperson and principal met after the tour to discuss recommendations for teachers in preparation for the state visit.

Another of the functions of the Advisory Council at Cassody School is for the group as a whole, or for the chairperson as its representative, to act as an interest group which lobbies the district on matters which affect Cassody School. This function is noted in Chapter IV in reference to the abolishment of corporal punishment in the district. Another example of the Council's lobbying activities is presented in the following section. The chairperson of the Advisory Council was also the school's representative to the Region 1 Advisory Committee. Her role as an advocate for the school is also discussed in the following section.

The outcomes of these participatory activities are perceived to have varying degrees of effectiveness by various subpublics at the school. As with staff participation, the efficacy of the process is closely related to the modes of resolution which occur in the school. A description and interpretation of the dynamics of the home-school-community relations processes of participation and resolution is the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

Parent Participation at Cassody School

One of the issues identified at the January, 1977 Advisory Council meeting was discipline. The meaning of this issue was related to the contention by parents that the movement of children caused so much "confusion." The most concerned and vocal participants about the issue were those who were employed at the school.

A few days after the Advisory Council meeting, it was noted that Mrs. Boone was actively monitoring the halls during the time when children were entering the building, and between classes. She made an active effort to enforce behavior standards in the school by asking children running on the stairs to walk and those talking to be quiet. Throughout the morning there were children in her office. Later in the day she informed the researcher that the parents were planning to meet with teachers to talk about the poor discipline in the school. Since she had not been at the Advisory Council meeting, she was asked how she got that information. She replied that the Advisory Council chairperson had called her at home and told her.

Follow-up phone calls and interviews by the researcher revealed that some of the parents who were working at the school had "gotten together." It was stated:

> We all agreed that there was a problem at the school and that we had to try to get Mrs. Boone to understand that part of the reason that the new white

> teachers are leaving is because of the confusion caused by the program.

Apparently no date was set for the meeting. Repeated inquiry by the researcher revealed the meeting was not actually held. Eventually, the researcher was told that one of the leaders of the group who was promoting a joint meeting with teachers was told by the principal that "as a member of the school staff it was her responsibility to carry out her duties at the school and not to make trouble." The researcher did not discuss this incident with the principal. However, the researcher was reminded of a similar statement made in an interview much earlier in the study:

> Parents who have anything on the ball are discouraged from participating at Cassody School. Those that she (Mrs. Boone) keeps around don't talk. She knows how to co-opt them. In many instances those people who will speak up are given little jobs. She gives them plums. Mrs. Boone has an uncanny ability for recognizing those who may be beginning to question her motives. She puts them on the payroll. In that way they are made to look bigger, more important.

Whether co-optation was a planned form of resolution of conflict in the school can only be speculated. However, it should be noted that one of the outcomes of involvement and participation was a reward system that resulted in employment at the school. Several examples of career advancement were identified among paid aides who had begun working as volunteers. In addition, one of the teachers at the school had previously worked there as a paid aide. Two other teachers who had a similar experience were transferred in the desegregation plan. One of the aides was currently taking classes for a teaching credential. She said that she hoped to do her student teaching at Cassody School. Finally, another classified employeed was cited as an example of a parent who had been very negatively outspoken about the school but who turned into a "real supporter" after being hired.

The encouragement of vocational and career advancement for those who participate at Cassody School may be viewed as a positive outcome of this process in the home-school-community relations program. However, if a person's financial reward depends on his or her loyalty to the organization, it may also be interpreted as a form of co-optation. To the extent that employment by the school limits access to decision making, formal participation becomes a symbolic exercise and provides a facade of support for the school.

The meaning of participation is closely related to the kinds of decisions in which participants are involved. One of the mandated responsibilities of the Advisory Council was to approve the budget for compensatory education programs. A parent explained the importance of this function as follows:

> If the Advisory Council chairperson does not sign the budget, the school's funds will not be withheld. But that will call the attention of someone higher up in the administration and they will want to know why. Advisory Councils do have power.

A review of the principal's statement on program planning indicates she plans the program for the school based on the assessment of needs and recommends it to the Advisory Council. If the Council wishes to reccommend changes, presumably within a range of options that "do not change the profile of the program", the program is revised and presented to the teachers. At that time, with parents there to support the principal's program, suggestions for change can again be made. Finally, the written program and its accompanying budget must be signed by the Advisory Council chairperson.

Parent participation in this program planning process seems to have two obvious functions. First, the process itself provides access to information and creates access points for influencing decision making. Second, it legitimates the program and creates a base of support for the school.

The amount of satisfaction with the levels of decision making that occurred through the Advisory Council varied according to the expectations of the individual participants. One parent recognized the importance of the Council's advisory capacity when she made this statement:

> The Advisory Council is part of all the programs that are implemented at the school. If parents want to have a say in the program, all they have to do is get on the Advisory Council because Mrs. Boone presents programs to the Advisory Council and the parents must approve them.

Another parent who viewed the Advisory Council as a legitimating device expressed her dissatisfaction when she made this statement:

> The Advisory Council would be an important group if we could get to do what we're supposed to do. We go over the budget after it is already planned. We do not plan the budget. The parents look it over. We really don't do any "head scratching" things.

Participation in the ways mentioned above was largely related to providing input for the written program plan that was submitted to the State. Other parents were more concerned with the day-to-day operation of the school. In this respect, a parent at the January, 1977 Advisory Council meeting is quoted as saying, "If parents don't like the program, they can't change it!"

Parents who objected to participation which allowed for input into the broad program plan, but did not allow for changing procedures such as the movement between groups did not perceive themselves as actively involved in decisions which were meaningful to them. This group of people was composed primarily of those who worked as paid aides and others who were regularly involved in volunteer activities. Because these individuals consistently expressed desires for change to the researcher, an effort was made to identify the factors which prevented such change from occurring. Repeated responses indicated parents were reluctant to pursue their opinions because of the way in which suggestions were handled by the principal. One parent gave this example:

> She (Mrs. Boone) puts parents down. For example, the Advisory Council was trying to get together on a way to raise some money. Mrs. Boone got impatient, and said that if five or six women can't get together to make decisions they should just forget it.

Another person was more succinct when she said, "I don't like the way she talks to me." Still another reiterated, "You can't really express your opinion. Mrs. Boone puts you down."

Finally, one parent indicated she felt there was no way to talk about change because she couldn't respond to the answers Mrs. Boone gave her. She gave this example:

> One day I brought it up to Mrs. Boone. I asked her, "How do you feel that children can learn with this constant moving?" She told me that the world is subject to change. If the children don't learn to change now, they will never learn to change." And that was the end of it!

In contrast to these opinions, another person who was on the Advisory Council and worked at the school said:

> I can go to Mrs. Boone with a problem. Just the other day I went into her office so mad and demanded that she go to one of the rooms and do something about that teacher. I told Mrs. Boone that if she didn't do something I would come in with some parents to back me up. I had the names and phone numbers. She came in and took care of the problems.

As with teachers, the number of parents who were willing to use direct confrontation as illustrated above was limited. Yet, this incident again demonstrates the apparent use of persistant, aggressive behavior as a means of conflict resolution. It is important to note that the person who made the above statement was an articulate supporter of the school program and of Mrs. Boone's efforts. She was known to other parents in the community as a result of previous activity at the school, and she could generate support from staff members as well. In this case, non-action by the principal would have forced a power play between these two individuals.

While the above incident illustrates that certain individuals had the ability to elicit action responses on the part of the principal, it was obvious that larger numbers of parents felt they were unable to influence the principal's attitude toward the instructional program. Though the program was legitimatized through Advisory Council approval, many of the same complaints as those vocalized by teachers were heard from parents. One of the parents who objected to the program as it was operationalized said:

> The parents are dumb. They vote to keep the program because they don't know what is going on. I voted to keep the program if it would be changed so that there was not so much moving around.

Another person questioned the actual influence of the Advisory Council to change programs because of the parents' lack of alternative suggestions when the program is presented by the principal. She said:

> The Advisory Council does not have any real influence. There are not enough parents involved. Those that come don't say much. Things are just told to them.

It is speculated that much of the participation by uninformed members of the Advisory Council was limited to choosing among alternatives that were presented by the principal. Those who were actively involved at the school were knowledgeable about the way in which the program was operationalized. However, most had little background out of which to draw alternative suggestions except from their own childhood schooling experiences. The principal seemed to be aware of this situation when she said:

> If parents don't know about the program, we want to make them aware. Sometimes its hard to know if they are communicating approval or apathy. Usually they just end up agreeing. But if there are no suggestions, we still have to run the school.

Without questioning the difficult task of working with parents who were uninformed or who had few skills to articulate desires, this research indicates parents identified issues related to the instructional program which can be viewed as suggestions for desired change. It is difficult to believe the suggestions were not heard by the principal. This point of view is reinforced by the knowledge that informants who were known to have access to the principal had analyzed the situation at the school. One of these people said:

> I have mixed feelings about Cassody now. There is no continuity in the program. We lost most of the staff and some of the key people. Most of the teachers resent IGE. The original parents who approved of IGE and their kids have gone on. Recently at a funeral, I was arguing with a group of parents who didn't like IGE and Mrs. Boone. The parents expect a miracle.

In spite of all parents not agreeing with the program, the Advisory Council was perceived by the teachers to have power in the school. More than that, parents were perceived to have more power than teachers when it came to influencing the instructional program. To illustrate, a new teacher stated:

> I don't know much about the Advisory Council. I just know that it exists and that it has some decision making powers. Whenever we question the program we are told that the parents approved it that way.

The legitimating role of parents appeared to be used as a form of conflict resolution between the teachers and the principal. That is, the principal operated within a legal structure which mandated parent participation, including the approval of the school program by the Advisory Council. When this task was accomplished, the program was no longer just the principal's program. It was a contract between the State and the local school to meet certain goals and objectives through a specific set of activities. The use of this form of resolution was further illustrated by the principal when she explained the resistance of teachers to change early in her tenure at the school. She said:

> They wanted small groups, they wanted children to be taught on the basis of what they needed and they wanted all these things. I told them, "What's in this proposal is just what you said that you wanted. And then it was passed through the State Department of Education and it went on to Washington, D. C. But there's a catch to it. You have $396,000 here on the basis of what you said you wanted. And here you stated what you were going to do in order to achieve these wants and needs. It's here in writing, the money is based on this and this is what we must be doing."
>
> Then they said, "We gonna work this thing this year. But I'm telling you when next year comes, we not going to have any of this." I said, "You didn't get this alone. You see this list of parents here? In fact, you can't even get this by yourself. The Advisory Chairperson has to sign this."

Whether or not the Advisory Council influenced the program as it was operationalized in the school, the written program was signed by the Advisory Council chairperson placing the program within a legal framework about which the teachers were largely uninformed. Complaints were centered mainly around management and instructional procedures that were local school options in the compensatory programs. It may not have made any difference if they had known certain parts of the program could be resubmitted to the Advisory Council for new consideration. The principal relied on the widely known fact that the program was approved by the Council and that such approval made the written program a binding document.

The effects of parent participation through the Advisory Council were felt in other ways by teachers which added to the perceptions of parent power in the school. As an example, a teacher who had been at the school for several years said:

> I don't know that much about the Advisory Council, but there is a strong association between the Advisory Council and the staff. If the Advisory Council wants something they get it. There are lots of things that the staff didn't want to do

When pressed for examples she said:

> The Advisory Council wanted the staff to work on improving lunch standards and manners this year. They wanted teachers to spend the first ten days eating with the children.

In response to the question, "Did teachers do it?" she said, "Everyone did!"

Follow-up inquiries about this particular event brought these comments from another teacher:

> A statement was made by the principal that the Advisory Council wanted the teachers to help the children learn how to eat properly; that is, not to

> waste food, not to throw food, and not to fool around on the lunch benches. I was not too much in favor of this. I heard other teachers saying that they didn't want to do it but we all did.

It appeared there was little formal communication between the Advisory Council and the staff as a whole about concerns in the school. There was no evidence that teachers had a regular representative on the Advisory Council to represent teacher interests and concerns. Parents had a representative on the Instructional Improvement Committee but it is not known what role that person played in facilitating communication between the two groups. It appears that formal communication between the groups came through the principal who also controlled the agendas for both groups. Thus, conflict resolution based on legitimate parent participation was facilitated by a lack of communication between those subpublics in the school who shared common interests.

The relationship between the principal, Mrs. Boone, and the Advisory Council chairperson, Mrs. Nickolson, appeared to be one of mutual respect and support. Mrs. Nickolson is a former postal worker who became actively involved at the school when she was unable to continue working. She indicated she spends as much time working with the school as she did when she was employed full time. Besides being an outlet for her energies she said, "I'm just plain interested in schools and children."

Mrs. Nickolson began serving as a representative from Cassody School to the Region 1 Advisory Council in 1973. A large share of her time is spent on activities at the regional and district levels, as well as at Cassody School. She is well known to regional and district officials and to teachers at Cassody School. One teacher said, "When I think of the Advisory Council, I think of Mrs. Nickolson." When asked how she learned to work in a large system like that of the Silver Lake School District, Mrs. Nickolson said:

> You learn to work in it by doing it. Mrs. Boone encourages her parents to get involved. And Mrs. Nimz, a parent who is employed by the district as a community representative used to say, "Go down to the Board and find out what is going on." I used to think that those people down there sat in sort of an ivory tower. But I'd go to Board meetings, and I would hear people make presentations. Sometimes it wasn't even worth listening to, but the Board had to listen to it. That's how I learned that they're not really people you should be afraid of, that they're there to listen to you.

Mrs. Nickolson was Cassody School's advocate on a large number of issues in the district. Before the study commenced she was credited with making an effort to save the Preschool class at Cassody School from being eliminated from the district Title I program. At a meeting with district officials on another matter, she also petitioned to retain a black substitute who was at the school. After checking with the principal, district official complied. During the course of this study she addressed the Region 1 Advisory Council concerning the problem of teacher replacements in inner-city schools, including Cassody. Finally, the principal informed the researcher that recently the district superintendent had called Mrs. Nickolson at home because he became aware she was unhappy with something the regional superintendent had done. This incident was confirmed by Mrs. Nickolson.

Few people, including principals, receive calls at home on a Sunday morning from the superintendent of a district as large as Silver Lake. Having a parent at Cassody School with this kind of influence in the district was perceived to be a real asset to the school. Mrs. Nickolson was an avid supporter of the instructional program at Cassody School. In addition, she was very positive in her feelings about Mrs. Boone. In turn, Mrs. Nickolson was privy to inside information about the school and its needs. In a sense, a symbiotic relationship existed between the principal and the Advisory Council president. Each supported the other in their endeavors to maintain the instructional program and to gain resources for the school.

Other parents were also encouraged to become actively involved in school affairs outside of the school. However, it was the difficulty of finding another person to assume these kinds of responsibilities which resulted in Mrs. Nickolson's present situation of being both Advisory Council chairperson and the school representative to the Region 1 Council. As one parent told the researcher:

> I don't like meetings. I'm glad to help with the kids but I don't like to be a leader.

Still, under the leadership of Mrs. Nickolson and Mrs. Boone many of the same people who raised issues about the instructional program at the school rallied to become an active interest group which lobbied on behalf of Cassody School. As indicated earlier, a group of parents representing Cassody School protested abolishment of corporal punishment in the district. They also made an effort to prevent the transfer of black teachers from the school in the teacher desegregation plan. A parent explained their first effort in the transfer controversy:

> Last summer when the teacher transfer thing came up they were pulling all of our resource people. Fifteen or twenty of us went to the regional superintendent's office to protest. He showed us a computer sheet. I never really did get the sense out of it. It showed that they were using social security numbers as well as birthdays. They still took most of our people.

Recognizing that efforts at the regional level were inadequate, the Cassody School Advisory Council took the issue to the Board of Education:

> Ten of us went to the Board of Education meeting. We made a presentation and explained what would happen to the program if they took our key people. The Board said that we shouldn't lose our resource people. But they took them anyhow because their names were on the list.

Participation by parents from Cassody School at the regional and district levels did not necessarily bring a change in policies affecting the school. However, it did lead to recognition for both the parents and the school. In addition, it taught the parents how to work within the system to try to influence change. Mrs. Boone made this statement about parent participation at the school:

> Our parents make their feelings known. But once something is law, our parents obey.

The meaning of participation at Cassody School is intricately entwined with the meanings of analysis and resolution as home-school-community relations processes. Findings related to each of these processes as they occurred at Cassody School are listed below.

Participation Findings

The following findings are relevant to participation as a home-school-community relations process:

A. Goals

   1. A manifest goal of participation at Cassody School was the involvement of parents in decision making aimed at advising the school staff of needs and desires in the community.

   2. The Advisory Council operated as a school-wide mechanism for parent participation.

   3. Individual parents had personal access to the principal, thus influencing decisions informally.

B. Programmatic Elements

   1. Participation through the Advisory Council included planned activities to assess needs, set goals and objectives, design activities, and evaluate the school program.

C. Participating Subpublics

   1. Individuals participating through the Advisory Council were primarily parents and grandparents of children attending the school.

   2. Many participants at Advisory Council meetings tended to be employed by the school and/or active as volunteers at the school.

3. Data suggested attendance at Advisory Council meetings was voluntary for teachers and other staff members available at the time of the meetings.

4. Community subpublics other than parents and grandparents were not represented on the Council.

D. Spheres of Influence

1. Evidence suggests it was possible for parents to influence policies such as requiring teachers to eat with children or activities such as changing the content of parent education classes.

2. Advisory Council decisions related to the annual program plan for the school were made within a framework of recommendations offered by the principal.

3. Parental influence on decisions related to instructional issues such as the movement of children appeared to be limited.

E. Outcomes

1. Annual approval of the written program plan by the Advisory Council constituted manifest support for the instructional program.

2. Issues raised by parents regarding the instructional program were not resolved during the course of this study.

3. Annual Advisory Council approval of the school program and the Council's manifest influence in other policy areas served to legitimate the instructional program within the school.

4. The Advisory Council and its chairperson behaved as an interest group which lobbied at regional and district levels on behalf of the school.

5. Participation at Cassody School provided opportunities for parents to learn how to work within a large organization.

6. Participation and involvement may have influenced employment possibilities at the school.

7. Employment at the school may have influenced the effectiveness of participation in decision making.
8. Individual parents had personal access to the principal, thus influencing decisions informally.

Analysis Findings

The following findings are relevant to analysis as a home-school-community relations process:

A. Identification of Issues and Subpublics

1. Formal mechanisms for identifying issues among school employees included the Instructional Improvement Committee and the Mediation Committee.
2. The Advisory Council was the formal mechanism through which parents and their concerns could be identified.
3. The following issues and their concerned subpublics were identified by the researcher during the time of this study:

	Issues	Subpublics
a.	The abolishment of corporal punishment	Some black teachers Aides
b.	Discipline	Teachers Aides Parents
c.	Movement of children	Teachers Aides Volunteers
d.	Restricted teaching modes	Teachers Aides
e.	Modes of resolution	Teachers Some Aides Some parents

f. Resignation of white teachers	Remaining teachers Aides Parents
g. Achievement	Teachers Aides Some volunteers

4. Issues among the largest subpublic at Cassody School, uninvolved parents, were not readily identifiable.

B. Modes of Analysis

1. Analysis did not appear as a planned process in the home-school-community relations program.

2. Evidence suggests the principal utilized an intuitive process of analysis to identify subpublics and issues as part of a political approach to the management of conflict and acquisition of resources for the school.

Resolution Findings

Findings related to resolution of conflict before this study was undertaken are found in Chapter III. The following findings are relevant to resolution as a home-school-community relations process during the course of this study:

A. Locus of Conflict

1. Conflict revolved around issues related to:
    a. the instructional program.
    b. district policies.

2. Conflict generated by district policies diverted attention from unresolved issues intrinsic to the instructional program.

B. Modes of Resolution

1. Conflict related to the instructional program was neutralized through the use of the following techniques:

   a. Reliance on the legitimating role of the Advisory Council.
   b. A broad approach to agenda control whereby the principal controlled the flow of information to the staff, to the Advisory Council and between the groups.
   c. Heavy reliance on guidelines and policies as a means of explaining and maintaining conditions as they existed.

2. Resolution of manifest conflict appeared to occur only as a result of direct confrontation between the principal and a petitioner.

3. Resolution of non-controversial problems was managed by a process of rational problem solving.

These findings and others growing out of this study provide a basis for discussion of supports and constraints to home-school-community relations and implications for practitioners and researchers which are presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IX

GENERALIZATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

Defining the political context of home-school-community relations, Bowles and Fruth suggest an effective program of school-community relations activities is influenced by the nature of the school community and the kind of educational program carried on by the school. They state:

> The political context of any effective home-school-community relations program is the resolution of both manifest and latent conflict among the various subpublics which may be associated with policy decisions or administrative practices which determine (1) the use of available, scarce resources; (2) the value choices to be made regarding the educational program; and (3) the locus of power in the educational enterprise.[1]

It is assumed this political objective is more readily attained when a school uses a programmatic approach to planning and implementing home-school-community relations activities. Previous research conducted by members of the Home-School-Community Relations Project at the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning indicates IGE schools conduct a variety of home-school-community relations activities lacking long-range goals and other programmatic indices. By contrast, this study describes numerous activities at Cassody School which were conducted within a programmatic framework designed to support the basic instructional program. The extent to which the home-school-community relations processes of communication, involvement, participation, analysis, and resolution were a part of this program is described in previous chapters. Generalizations from these findings suggest a number of conditions serving as supports and/or constraints to effective home-school-community relations at Cassody School. These generalizations, implications for practitioners, and recommendations for further research are the subjects of this chapter.

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[1] B. Dean Bowles and Marvin J. Fruth, "Improving Home-School-Community Relations," in The Principal and Individually Guided Education, ed. James M. Lipham and Marvin J. Fruth (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1976), p. 168.

Supports and Constraints to Home-School-Community Relations in an Urban, Inner-City IGE School

An effective program of home-school-community relations is influenced by the nature of the school organization and the community in which the school is located. Conditions and related facilitating or inhibiting factors within each of these environments are described in the following pages as they relate to home-school-community program, processes and goals.

Organizational Supports and Constraints

The term organizational supports and constraints suggests a broad category of influences originating within the district and local school organizations. These influences include the following conditions as identified in Table 12:

1. size of district
2. locus of district decision making

TABLE 12

ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORTS AND CONSTRAINTS

Condition	Supporting Factors	Constraining Factors
1. Size of the district	Because the Silver Lake School District is so large, a variety of specialized services and personnel are available which can be utilized to assist local schools in developing and maintaining a home-school-community relations program. (A)*	
2. Locus of district decision making		Centralized decision making resulted in districtwide programs and policies which produced negative attitudes in the school community. (C)
3. Attitudes and behaviors of district administrators	The district superintendent was perceived to be receptive to parental participation. His manifest behaviors encouraged parents to vocalize their feelings and to provide input for decision making. (B)	The regional superintendent was perceived to be non-receptive to community involvement, thus generating negative attitudes toward problem solving at the regional level. (B)

*Letters in parentheses at the end of each statement indicate relationships to the home-school-community relations elements of (A) program, (B) processes, and (C) goals which are supported or constrained by the given factor.

TABLE 12 (Continued)

ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORTS AND CONSTRAINTS

Condition	Supporting Factors	Constraining Factors
4. Attitudes and behaviors of the local school principal	The principal at Cassody School . promoted an "Open Door" policy which encouraged parents to get involved in school activities. (B) . attempted to stimulate the staff to utilize as many opportunities as possible to communicate with and involve parents in school activities. (A,B) . behaved as a petitioner of school district authorities, community officials and other influentials to obtain resources for the school and the community, thus generating support from a wide variety of subpublics. (C) . interacted with parents and children as a means of stimulating parent involvement. (B) . encouraged and trained parents to work within the school organization. (B,C)	Participation in decision making related to the daily operation of the instructional program was limited by the principal to a narrow sphere of influence. (B) The principal's communication and conflict resolution styles resulted in the accumulation of residual animosity within the school. (B) The principal's communication style inhibited some parents from becoming involved and participating in school activities. (B,C)

TABLE 12 (Continued)

ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORTS AND CONSTRAINTS

Condition	Supporting Factors	Constraining Factors
	. provided positive reinforcement for parents who participated at the school. (C) . initiated structure and order in a chaotic organizational and community environment. (C)	
5. Teacher attitudes and behaviors	Some teachers recognized the need to communicate with parents on a systematic basis. (A,B) Teachers who were able to accommodate parent volunteers and parents who visited the school spontaneously encouraged future parent volunteer efforts. (B,C) Allegiance to the principal by some teachers prevented conflict related to the instructional program from becoming issues in the community. (C)	Some teachers did not demonstrate an understanding of the goals of a home-school-community relations program. (A,B,C) Teachers who were fearful of being in the community and in a low socioeconomic environment did not leave the school to make parent contacts. (A,B,C) Teachers who had contacts in the community and did not support the instructional program acted as negative communication links with parents and other citizens. (C)

TABLE 12 (Continued)

ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORTS AND CONSTRAINTS

Condition	Supporting Factors	Constraining Factors
6. Teacher transiency		The introduction of numerous new teachers to Cassody School as a result of the teacher desegregation plan interrupted the instructional program and magnified issues already prevalent within the school and among parents who were active at the school. (C) "Last minute" assignments of teachers, resignations, and numerous substitutes at the school required maximum effort be devoted to maintaining the instructional program, thus limiting the amount of time devoted to home-school-community relations. (A,B,C) New teachers were faced with a variety of demands prohibiting emphasis on home-school-community relations activities. This constraining factor is illustrated by a teacher who said, "There have been so many things for me to deal with . . . coming to a new school, working in a black neighborhood for the first time, learning what IGE is all about, separating IGE from what Mrs. Boone wants, and dealing with parents. I choose my priorities. I can't deal with all of them." (A,B,C)

TABLE 12 (Continued)

ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORTS AND CONSTRAINTS

Condition	Supporting Factors	Constraining Factors
7. The instructional program	Improved achievement scores which resulted from a program of Individually Guided Education encouraged support from parents and members of the larger community. (C)	Issues related to the instructional program were political in nature. That is, the issues of movement and restricted teaching modes were related to value choices which produced conflict both within the school and among parents who were knowledgeable about the instructional program. (C) The amount of time devoted to training new teachers to implement the instructional program limited time for orientation to the community and home-school-community relations goals. (A,B,C)
8. Influence of state and federal programs	The program planning process was systematic, thus encouraging a programmatic approach to home-school-community relations. (A) The required components of parent involvement and parent education encouraged the use of home-school-community relations processes. (B)	Primary emphasis of the programs was on improved pupil achievement, thus limiting the amount of money that could be spent on more extensive community oriented projects. (C) The involvement of community subpublics other than parents was encouraged but was not mandated. (B,C)

TABLE 12 (Continued)

ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORTS AND CONSTRAINTS

Condition	Supporting Factors	Constraining Factors
	The Advisory Council was a mandated mechanism for parent participation. (A,B)	
	Cassody School had the opportunity to utilize a limited amount of its budget for such home-school-community relations activities as hiring two community representatives. (B,C)	
	The use of paraprofessionals from the community was encouraged and funds were available from state and federal programs to hire them. (C)	
	The State Research and Evaluation Team which visited schools interviewed parents and sought accountability from the school for efforts to involve parents in the school program. (A,B)	
	Planning for the implementation of the programs was decentralized within specified guidelines. (A)	

TABLE 12 (Continued)

ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORTS AND CONSTRAINTS

Condition	Supporting Factors	Constraining Factors
9. Allocation of resources	When parents were paid to be involved in school activities either directly or through job incentives involvement and participation increased at Cassody School. (C) When a full time coordinator was responsible for home-school-community relations activities parent involvement increased and programmatic implementation was facilitated. (A,C)	Limited funds are available to lo schools for providing monetary in tives to parents. (C)

3. attitudes and behaviors of district administrators
4. attitudes and behaviors of the local school principal
5. attitudes and behaviors of teachers
6. teacher transiency
7. the instructional program
8. influence of state and federal programs
9. allocation of resources

Supporting and constraining factors of each of these conditions are annotated in Table 12 and discussed below to show their relationship to program, process, and goal elements of the Home-School-Community Relations Model.

Program Elements

Efforts to develop a programmatic approach to home-school-community relations at Cassody School were supported primarily by guidelines for state and federal programs. The program planning process for local schools as well as district and state evaluation procedures required accountability for the development of activities based on school and community needs. Programmatic elements of the process included setting goals and objectives, development of appropriate activities, limited identification of roles and responsibilities, evaluation procedures, and a timeline for accomplishment of goals.

Another major influence on the development of a home-school-community relations program was the leadership of the principal at Cassody School. Mrs. Boone educated parents and teachers to programmatic planning procedures. She also encouraged teachers to utilize a variety of communication and involvement activities, and emphasized the attainment of program goals.

The Silver Lake School District, in contrast to smaller districts, had the resources to provide specialized services and personnel to support a programmatic approach to home-school-community relations. However, the utilization of such services was dependent on the principal's awareness and willingness to engage available specialized personnel in activities supporting the local school program. Some of the resources used at Cassody School included services and personnel from the district Volunteer Office, Pupil Services and Attendance Office, and the Office of Urban Affairs.

Organizational factors constraining a programmatic approach to home-school-community relations are attributed primarily to the instructional program, teacher attitudes, and teacher transiency. Those constraining factors related to the instructional program include the amount of time needed for record-keeping and preparation. That is, teachers indicated they were unable to devote time to home-school-community relations activities without eliminating other responsibilities. In addition, the nature of the instructional program, combined with the number of teachers new to the school, required inservice training emphasizing instructional procedures rather than home-school-community relations processes and goals. As a result of these factors, attitudes of teachers who did not understand the program goals tended to limit a systemmatic approach to home-school-community relations activities.

Process Elements

Generalizations regarding supports and constraints to home-school-community relations processes are complicated by the varying nature of the processes and the extent to which they were observed by the researcher. The use of the processes of communication, involvement, and participation was supported by guidelines for state and federal programs at Cassody School. However, the extent to which these and other processes were manifest in the school program and within the district was dependent largely on attitudes and behaviors of school personnel.

The principal recognized the importance of communicating with parents and encouraged parental involvement and participation in school activities. Examples of these supporting attitudes and behaviors include on-going efforts to communicate directly with parents, encouragement of planned and informal home-school-community relations activities, and support for educating and training parents to work within the school organization. While analysis was not an element in the home-school-community relations program at Cassody School, its use was supported by the principal who identified issues and subpublics at a variety of levels in the school and community hierarchy.

Attitudes and behaviors of teachers acted as both supports and constraints to the effective use of various home-school-community relations processes. For example, manifest efforts by some teachers to welcome parent volunteers into their classrooms were simultaneously accompanied by latent behaviors discouraging parent involvement beyond an initial contact. Also, well-intended telephone communications were perceived by some parents as negative because of teacher tendencies to focus on children's problems. Finally, lack of awareness of the consequences of their own behaviors, and lack of understanding of the culture and problems of low income parents contributed to a constraining belief among some teachers that "the school is doing all it can do."

In addition to attitudes and behaviors by individuals which supported or constrained effective use of home-school-community relations processes, conflicting attitudes and behaviors between school personnel had a constaining effect on the use of the processes. This is best illustrated by the principal's desire to create an open atmosphere for parents to enter the school at anytime expecting to become meaningfully involved in classroom activities or to communicate with teachers. In one case parents received messages indicating they were always welcome at the school. At the same time, teachers who did not have the skills or the desire to relate to parents under these conditions projected negative attitudes and behaviors as they attempted to cope with both instructional and home-school-community relations responsibilities. Conflicting attitudes and behaviors of this nature also appeared to be present at the district level as illustrated by the reference in Table 12 to the district and regional superintendents.

The process of resolution was not observed to function in the same way other processes operated at the school. That is, as a process resolution was not programmatic as were communication, involvement, and participation. As with analysis, it was observed primarily in relationship to the role of the principal. While both analysis and resolution are theoretically functions of the home-school-community relations roles of all school personnel, the data from this study does not permit such a generalization. Further discussion of resolution as a home-school-community relations process is presented as part of the concluding statements in this section.

Goal Elements

The attainment of long-range goals of providing access to decision making, obtaining legitimacy and support for the school, and encouraging child growth, development, and achievement were supported in some way by most of the conditions listed in Table 12. However, the pervading influence was the philosophical framework within which the state and federal programs operated at Cassody School. In addition to a philosophy encouraging communication, involvement, and participation as a means of attaining the long-range goals listed above, the programs also provided planning options and limited budgetary discretion to enable the employment of parents and other community citizens at the local school. At the same time, involvement efforts by the school were hampered by a lack of adequate financial resources to meet demands for still more extensive involvement of parents in the school program.

Examples throughout this study suggest the principal as a primary facilitator of home-school-community relations goals. Viewed from an historical perspective, her ability to initiate structure and order in the school when both organizational and community environments were in a state of disharmony reduced manifest conflict to a level at which both staff and parents were able to focus on the goals of child growth, development and achievement. While the principal's leadership style tended to have a constraining effect on participation in relationship to the operation of the instructional program, her tendency to provide parents with access to decision making in other policy areas legitimated efforts to attain the goal of student achievement. Finally, the principal's ability to assess needs in the community and the school, and her skilled, informal use of analysis to identify influentials who could provide resources for the school and the community encouraged support from a variety of subpublics.

Teacher transiency, a condition related directly to a district policy for desegregation, created a situation in which home-school-community relations activities were not major priorities to teachers. Thus, the attainment of related goals was dependent on attitudes of individual teachers toward systemmatic communication and planned involvement of parents. In addition, the presence of teachers in the school who did not support the instructional program, especially those who had routine contacts with citizens in the community, were constraining factors in the attainment of support and legitimacy for the school.

Community Supports and Constraints

The term community supports and constraints refers to those conditions in the school neighborhood having positive or negative impacts on home-school-community relations efforts by the local school. These conditions are identified in Table 13 as:

1. poverty and related conditions
2. limited formal schooling of parents

TABLE 13

COMMUNITY SUPPORTS AND CONSTRAINTS

Condition	Supporting Factors	Constraining Factors
1. Poverty and related conditions of: . Large single parent families . Poor health . Transiency		These conditions resulted in paren preoccupation with meeting basic needs for food, clothing and shelt to the exclusion of active involvement with the school. (A,B,C)* The changing constituency of the school inhibited efforts to promot wide scale involvement, participat and education of parents. (A,B,C)
2. Limited formal schooling of parents		This condition contributed to attitudes of deference toward the scho and reluctance by parents to becom involved in situations through whi their own educational deficits wou be apparent to school personnel o children. (A,B,C)
3. Working parents		Working parents were unable to at school events which were held dur the day. (A,B,C)

*Letters in parentheses at the end of each statement indicate relationships to the home-school-community relations elements of (A) program, (B) processes, and (C) goals which are supported or constrained by the given factor.

TABLE 13 (Continued)

COMMUNITY SUPPORTS AND CONSTRAINTS

Condition	Supporting Factors	Constraining Factors
4. Crime and vandalism		Parents were reluctant to leave th homes due to the possibility of va dalism during their absence. (A,B Fear of bodily harm prohibited the scheduling of school events after and inhibited a systematic program home visits by teachers. (A,B,C)
5. Socioeconomic and cultural values		Activism in organizations is a mid class value which is not reinforce lower-class neighborhoods. (A,B,C Attitudes toward discipline and th meaning of time differed between t school and parents. (A,B,C)
6. Attitudes of involved parents	Involved parents: . Demonstrated an interest in the achievement and behavior of their children. (C) . Donated inordinate amounts of time and talent to school activities. (A,B,C) . Served as an interest group to lobby district officials on behalf of Cassody School. (C)	Some involved parents: . Served as negative communication links with the community. (B,C)

TABLE 13 (Continued)

COMMUNITY SUPPORTS AND CONSTRAINTS

Condition	Supporting Factors	Constraining Factors
	Some involved parents: . Served as positive communication links with the community. (B,C)	

3. working parents
4. crime and vandalism
5. socioeconomic and cultural values
6. attitudes of involved parents

Each of these conditions is discussed in relationship to program, process, and goal elements of the Home-School-Community Relations Model.

Program Elements

Efforts on the part of the school to develop a programmatic approach to home-school-community relations were supported by a small core of parents and grandparents who responded to communications, attended school events, and participated in organized activities at the school. Approximately a fourth to one-half of the parents responded to invitations to conferences or attended special events at which their children performed. However, most people did not make regular time commitments for the variety of reasons listed in Table 13. While encouragement from the school for parents to volunteer or observe classes at will indicated recognition of parental attitudes toward the use of time, this policy also constrained programmatic planning.

Process Elements

Attempts by the school to communicate with parents and engage them in involvement and participation activities have been described in detail in preceding chapters. Findings indicate a majority of parents failed to respond to written communications or attempts at face-to-face communications at school. While teachers reported parents were willing to talk on the telephone, this communication effort was constrained by poverty factors related to transiency and parents' inability to pay phone bills.

Some parents came to the school periodically for special events, conferences, or as volunteers. However, most did not become involved on a regular basis, nor did they participate in advisory council meetings. Some parents who were actively involved in school activities were positive communication links with others in the community. Some parents who were dissatisfied with the implementation of the instructional program transmitted negative messages about the school.

Goal Elements

Parents actively involved in school activities supported the school by reinforcing behavior standards for children, and by demonstrating an interest in the achievement of their children. They attained access to decision making processes in the school, and their active participation on the advisory council legitimated the instructional program. While the presence of large numbers of parents in the school neighborhood failing to communicate with the school cannot be interpreted as a positive factor, previous crises at the school suggest the school was unable to attain positive relationships with the community when there was active opposition to school goals by parents and other citizens.

Concluding Statements

Identification of supports and constraints to home-school-community relations as they relate to program, process, and goal elements of the Home-School-Community Relations Model suggests three important factors in need of further discussion. These include the effects of race on teacher attitudes and behaviors, the political role of the principal, and the relationship of compensatory education programs to home-school-community relations.

Effects of Race on Teacher Attitudes and Behaviors

The district desegregation plan in Silver Lake introduced an unanticipated variable into this study. References to data throughout the study frequently distinguished between attitudes, behaviors, and opinions of black and white teachers. It is evident most of the new teachers had difficulty adjusting to all aspects of their new assignments. Differing instructional philosophies, attitudes toward the behavior and means of disciplining children, lack of understanding of conditions in the community, and language differences were all cited as factors in this situation. However, the issue of racial differences between white teachers and black children and parents did not emerge as a primary constraint to home-school-community relations at Cassody School. While this finding may have been different during another time period, evidence suggests the key factors affecting parent-teacher relationships were attitudes of individual teachers.

It was recognized black teachers had certain advantages communicating with parents and children at Cassody School. Regardless of their socioeconomic status most black teachers understood the language of the people in the community, and they related to black cultural norms. Those who lived in or near Traceway had the advantage of being visible to parents and children alike. However, differences in attitudes toward school-community relations activities were as marked among black teachers as between them and their white counterparts. Many black teachers were no more systemmatic in their communication and involvement efforts with parents than were some white teachers. When parents talked about "getting the wrong teacher" in relationship to initial volunteer contacts, color was not a factor. Some black teachers were as cautious in their relationships with people outside the school as were white teachers. Finally, it was as difficult for black teachers who lived long distances from the school to telephone parents from their homes as it was for their middle class white colleagues in the same situation.

Evidence suggests race was a factor in attitudes of some teachers toward the principal. Those black teachers who disagreed with various aspects of the instructional program but chose not to air their complaints publicly out of allegiance to the principal as a black leader provided support for the attainment of home-school-community relations goals. Those who aired their grievances outside the school constrained efforts to obtain public support and legitimacy for the school program. The introduction of numerous white teachers into the school who supported grievances related to the instructional program and did not have a personal commitment to the principal prompted questions from involved parents about the legitimacy of the program. However, this study was terminated before the total effect of teacher assignments and resignations on the home-school-community relations program could be observed.

The Political Role of the Principal

In a study of the politics of education at the local school level Summerfield states, "The principal's chief political function is to minimize conflict between the community and the neighborhood school."[2] This function is congruent with the political objective of conflict resolution set forth by Bowles and Fruth as cited earlier in this chapter.

While one of the major functions of the principal at Cassody School was to stimulate a programmatic approach to home-school-community relations activities, her political leadership style was a major factor in the effectiveness or non-effectiveness of various aspects of the program. Drawing on historical data, it was illustrated how Mrs. Boone identified issues in the community and the school, related them to interested subpublics, and then petitioned appropriate influentials in the school district, the state, and the community to gain resources for the school. Conflict between the school and the community and within the school was minimized enough to focus on the task of meeting educational goals for students.

Summerfield[3] indicates the style utilized by principals to reduce or resolve conflict is influenced by the nature of the school community. The Cassody School community was largely characterized by inertness during the course of this study. That is, no evidence was apparent for mass support or mass opposition to the school and its instructional program. Instead, opposition was confined to the school staff and a small group of involved parents knowledgeable about the day-to-day operation of the instructional program. Thus, the principal was able to neutralize the conflict by defining the spheres of decision making influence of both staff and parent groups through a variety of techniques related to agenda control. Combined with activism in the community, a charasmatic purpose of educating black children, and the ability to generate support through hard work and professional competency, the principal was able to reduce conflict in the face of criticism of both her communication and human relations skills.

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[2] Harry L. Summerfield, The Neighborhood-based Politics of Education (Columbus: Chareles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1971), p. 93.

[3] Ibid, p. 94.

Summerfield further indicates the function of the principal is not necessarily to act "to reduce conflict between the community and central school authorities."[4] This principle was illustrated by Mrs. Boone in her role as advisory council mentor. It is apparent the people on the council would not have been knowledgeable about procedures for lobbying district officials without training in the skills of organizing and petitioning for outside resources. First, Mrs. Boone served as a model with her own efforts to gain resources for the school. Second, whether she worked directly or through the influence of the advisory council chairperson, Mrs. Boone was a major catalyst for teaching parents to work within the system. To reiterate, "Our parents make their feelings known. But when something is law they obey."

Evidence from this study clearly indicates the importance of the principal's role in home-school-community relations. A person occupying this position must be committed to more than mere public relations activities. Mrs. Boone not only interacted with influential subpublics in the school district and the community, but it must be pointed out she emphasized interactions with children and direct communications with parents including those not involved in the education of their children. She capitalized on the legal and professional authority of her role to reduce conflict, and she acted out of her beliefs that parent involvement was an integral part of the educational process at the school.

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[4] Ibid, p. 93.

The Relationship Between Compensatory Education and Home-School-Community Relations

It is evident throughout this study that the Title I and PEG programs were major influences on the programmatic approach to home-school-community relations at Cassody School. It is clear that without the support of state guidelines for programmatic planning and financial resources from the two special programs both the instructional and home-school-community relations programs at the school would have been sharply curtailed. Yet, the primary emphasis of both programs was on instructional goals with secondary emphasis on home-school-community relations activities. To point out the seriousness of the problem facing principals and staff members in inner-city schools, this discussion of supports and constraints to home-school-community relations is concluded with the following statement by the principal of Cassody School:

> We cannot go any further [in attaining educational goals] without the support of the community. The first priority [of compensatory education programs] must be with the parents. Any program that is supposed to deliver achievement in children had better look at the child's home and the community environment. Parents just don't have to come to school. We're in business to educate children but our clients need so much more.

Implications of this statement and other findings in this study are addressed in the remainder of this chapter.

Implications and Recommendations for Practitioners

The findings of this study suggest general recommendations and implications for schools of education and federal, state, and district education agencies. Specific recommendations for maximizing supports and minimizing constraints at Cassody School conclude this section.

Schools of Education

Despite the growing interest in and demands for increased parent and citizen involvement and participation in schools, particularly those in large cities, schools of education have been slow to respond to the needs of prospective teachers and administrators in the area of home-school-community relations. Few teachers and administrators are taught how to work with parents and other citizens before they are faced with a myriad of other problems in the real educational setting. If this research study serves no other purpose, it is hoped the description of life in one inner-city IGE school illustrates the complexity of demands and multitude of skills required to promote sound instructional practices and positive relationships between a school and its inner-city community. Thus, the following recommendations are offered to teacher and administrator training institutions regarding home-school-community relations competencies.

Teacher Training

Teacher competencies for working with parents of all socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds must be specified. A suggested, though not inclusive, list might include:

1. Awareness of personal values related to parent and other citizen involvement and participation in schools
2. Clarification of values related to differing cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds of parents and students
3. Awareness of personal communication styles and resulting impacts on individuals and groups both within and outside of the school
4. Skills to promote analysis, two-way communication, involvement, participation, and resolution of conflict
5. Understanding of the role of parents as the first and primary teachers of their own children

Training must include meaningful and practical experiences related to the implementation of specified skills. Recommendations include:

1. Internships with advisory councils and other citizen groups
2. Experiences in schools as volunteers or teaching assistants which include responsibilities for coordinating volunteer programs, developing management systems for creative use of citizen resources in individual classrooms, conducting parent conferences, and making home-visits
3. Simulated exercises and role playing demonstrating the use of home-school-community relations processes in a variety of situations
4. Training in group processes through involvement in groups designed to develop effective communication, explore interaction and conflict resolution styles, and clarify individual values and norms

Administrator Training

The preceding suggestions for teacher training, with appropriate modifications for the unique role and responsibilities of the principal, are applicable to the training of local school administrators. Data from this study suggests a need for added emphasis in the following areas:

1. An examination of the meaning of participation in decision making by staff, parents, and other citizens with group experiences to develop awareness of personal tolerance for the shared decision making process
2. Education and training related to the political leadership function of principals as managers of conflict both within the school and between school and community
3. Development of skills in community analysis to identify issues, subpublics, and resource allocators

Teacher and Administrator Educators

In addition to examining the manifest training programs for teachers and administrators the following questions are raised regarding the latent curricula in schools of education:

1. Are teachers/administrators being socialized to manipulate and tolerate the growing movement toward citizen participation?

   or

   Are teacher/administrator educators taking a proactive stance to promote positive and meaningful home-school-community relations?
2. Do teacher/administrator educators just talk about parent and citizen involvement and participation?

   or

   Do teacher/administrator educators serve as models for action by inviting citizens to interact with students on the issues related to parent-teacher, school-citizen relationships and participation?

3. Are prospective teachers/administrators treated as adults in their training programs to prepare them for developing adult to adult relationships among staff members and between staff and citizens?

or

Does paternalism and elitism in schools of education promote professional paternalism and elitism among practitioners which defies meaningful communication, involvement, and participation practices?

The preceding recommendations and comments are offered as stimulators to promote systemmatic planning for the development of home-school-community relations programs as part of the training for all prospective educators. Schools of education in urban areas will want to focus on the specific problems in city environments by referring to the supports and constraints to home-school-community relations identified in this study.

Federal, State, and District Education Agencies

Much of the growing concern and interest in increased parent and citizen participation in schools is a result of federal and state mandates. While teacher inservice is frequently a part of guidelines for special programs, little emphasis has been put on preservice training skills listed in the previous section. Thus, it is recommended similar legislative or administrative mandates be enacted to encourage schools of education to develop new concepts defining necessary skills and experiences to train community oriented teachers and school administrators.

The ability of the staff at Cassody School to plan and implement a systemmatic program of home-school-community relations was dependent on the program planning model of the state in which the school was located. Decentralized planning for the use of Title I funds is not common to most states. The federal government allocates compensatory education funds to states which in turn allocate funds to local school districts. Little monitoring of use of the funds encourages districts to plan centralized programs which may or may not meet the needs of individual schools. The program at Cassody School exemplifies the effectiveness of local school planning. Therefore, it is recommended state education agencies decentralize program planning processes and monitor efforts of school districts and local schools to meet the intent of federal policies for involving parents in the decision making processes of the schools.

Many compensatory education programs have not achieved the goal of improved academic growth for children in inner-city schools. While instructional programs must be closely monitored to insure attainment of educational goals, the feasibility of priorities focused entirely on the school with little regard for the community environment are questionable. If parents do not come to the school, the school must go to them. Creative programs of parent education for involvement and participation cannot be implemented without financial resources and trained personnel to do the job.

The allocation of financial resources and the importance of decentralized planning have other implications. The termination of the Title III project at Cassody School vividly illustrates the need for coordination of home-school-community relations programs. Again, resources of personnel and money are necessary to implement such a plan. It was further illustrated in this study the importance of rewarding low income parents with cash or job incentives as a means of getting them involved in school activities. Compensatory education programs limiting the amount of money which can be spent in this way are ignoring research and descriptive data concerning the characteristics and attitudes of parents in inner-city communities. At the same time, procedures in many large districts prohibit creative use of funds already available. For instance, payment of parents for services at the end of each day or week would provide immediate gratification and increased incentive for further contributions of time and energy to the school.

School districts must take additional initiative to promote home-school-community relations programs which go beyond one-way communication and public relations. Acknowledging current conditions in schools of education, teachers and principals must be released from their regular duties for inservice education to develop the home-school-community relations skills which were not part of their preservice training. District administrators must also examine their own attitudes toward parent and other citizen involvement both at local schools and in the entire district. Administrators who are more concerned with public relations than shared decision making will find it difficult to recognize the need for decentralized policy making which is concerned with the needs of local schools and their communities.

Cassody School

The home-school-community relations program at Cassody School as described in this study should provide insights and guidance for other inner-city schools wishing to implement a systemmatic program. Community and organizational conditions have been described in detail, thus making it possible for other schools in similar environments to draw upon the experiences at Cassody School to plan their own programs. Since no two schools and no two communities are identical, the following comments and recommendations address specific conditions at Cassody School.

It is obvious certain constraints identified in this study are beyond control of the local school. Financial limitations, conditions in the community, and district policies related to desegregation will continue to limit the effectiveness of home-school-community relations efforts at Cassody School. The school can only deal with those supports and constraints related to attitudes and behaviors of people, organizational arrangements, and allocation of resources over which there is local control. While the recommendations which follow address these conditions, it is with recognition that the researcher may lack awareness of other impinging influences not identified in this study.

The attitudes and behaviors of people at Cassody School in their relationship with parents were related not only to personality characteristics, but also to lack of knowledge and skills for coping with the high level of stress within the school environment. Feelings identified repeatedly as "frustration" and "pressure" related to expectations of the principal, the general operation of the instructional program, the teacher desegregation plan, and the impending Research and Evaluation Team visit contributed to attitudes of "I'm doing all I can do." Such feelings of impotence on the part of staff members suggest primary emphasis be given to reducing these stresses. Recommendations include objective evaluation of issues related to the instructional program, possible reduction of IGE instructional components until the staff at the school is again stabilized, and concerted effort on the part of the principal to examine the effects of interpersonal relations within the school on the total home-school-community relations program. It is likely further staff development for home-school-community relations will be only partially productive before the primary "survival" needs of school personnel are met.

It appears the people at Cassody School are already maximizing the one identifiable community support for effective home-school-community relations. That is, those parents who are currently involved at the school contribute inordinate amounts of time and energy to the school program in relationship to their numbers. At the same time, a word of caution is added that these individuals not be taken for granted. Paid aides who volunteer identical services on their own time, for instance, must be given continual recognition for the contributions they are making to the school.

Consideration should be given to reassessing the allocation of human resources at Cassody School to attain maximum benefit for both instructional and home-school-community relations goals. A definite need appears to exist to increase the services of the Pupil Services and Attendance Counselor. While increasing the PSA worker's time at the school will affect financial allocations for other personnel, it seems valid to capitalize on his services by integrating his role into the total home-school-community relations program. Integration of the nurse and her home-school-community relations expertise into the total school program is also recommended. Further, it is suggested ways be explored to maximize contributions of classified staff to the home-school-community relations program. Finally, the roles and functions of the coordinators should be reassessed with an eye toward concentrating responsibilities for coordination of home-school-community relations activities with one of these positions.

The number of home-school-community relations activities already implemented at Cassody School leaves little room for improvement in terms of variety. However, the following suggestions are derived from successful practices at other inner-city schools, and may be given consideration by the staff at Cassody School.

Home visits are facilitated in some inner city schools by utilizing minimum days such as those reserved for parent teacher conferences. On these days all members of the staff go into the community in pairs to visit the homes of parents. Less confident staff members may be teamed with teachers, classified staff, and parents or other citizens who are known in the community. Advance publicity and notification of proper law enforcement authorities of this school activity tends to minimize the negative safety factors in the community.

The number of written communications can be reduced by systemmatic planning of school events which are listed in a monthly newsletter or contained in a monthly calendar sent to each home through the United States mail. Bulk mailing rates contribute to cutting costs for this activity in equal proportion to the cost of paper utilized for many notices which never reach the homes.

Finally, consideration may be given to capitalizing on parents' presence in the school when they enroll their children for the first time. A paid aide or a volunteer may be given responsibility for orienting the parent and child to the physical facilities of the school and explaining opportunities for parent involvement. A personal invitation to attend an upcoming event and a personal introduction to children's teachers may make parents feel more welcome and less hesitant to come to the school in the future.

Implications and Recommendations for Future Research

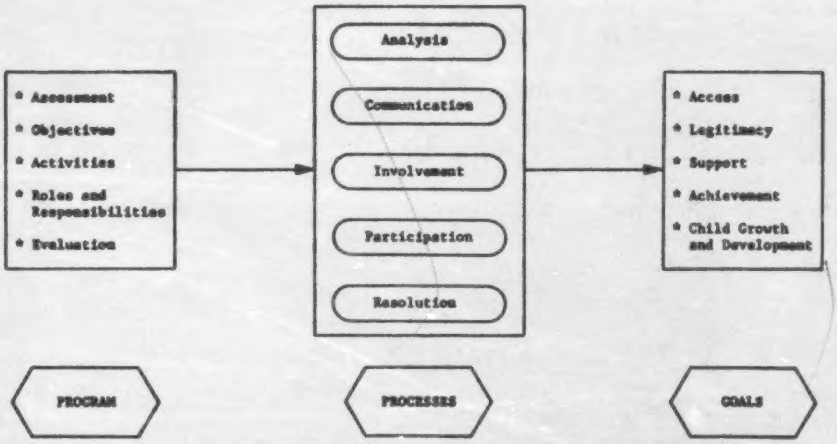
This research study was conducted as part of a larger research effort of the Home-School-Community Relations Project at the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning. The Programmatic Model for Home-School-Community Relations developed by the project was utilized as an organizing rationale for describing and interpreting the home-school-community relations program at Cassody School.

Refinement of the Model

The Programmatic Model for Home-School-Community Relations consists of program, process, and goal elements (see Figure 4). Use of the model in this research study suggests modifications for refinement which are illustrated in Figure 5. Discussion of recommendations for changes in the model follow.

FIGURE 4

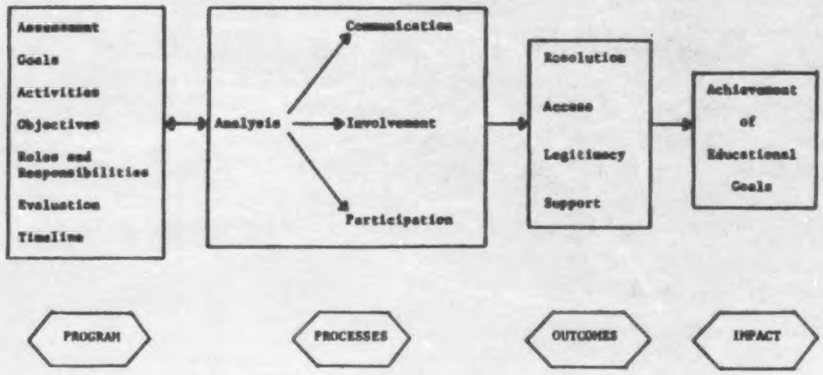
A PROGRAMMATIC MODEL FOR HOME-SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS


* Assessment
* Objectives
* Activities
* Roles and Responsibilities
* Evaluation
Analysis
Communication
Involvement
Participation
Resolution
* Access
* Legitimacy
* Support
* Achievement
* Child Growth and Development
PROGRAM
PROCESSES
GOALS

Developed by B. Dean Bowles, Marvin J. Fruth, Lois I. Bertels, M. Lynn Karges, and Hillel I. Raskas. Home-School-Community Relations Project, Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, Madison, Wisconsin, 1976.

FIGURE 5

A PROGRAMMATIC MODEL FOR HOME-SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS
(Revised)


Assessment
Goals
Activities
Objectives
Roles and Responsibilities
Evaluation
Timeline
Analysis
Communication
Involvement
Participation
Resolution
Access
Legitimacy
Support
Achievement of Educational Goals
PROGRAM
PROCESSES
OUTCOMES
IMPACT

Program Elements

The approach to program planning utilized at Cassody School differs from that set forth in the model (Figure 4) in two ways. First, the goals defined by Cassody School are programmatic elements related to specific processes, and may be attained within a limited period of time. This is in contrast to the long-range goals in the model which are attained as a result of a planned program of home-school-community relations encompassing all programmatic elements and processes. Believing short-range goals are important to the total planning process, goals has been added as one of the programmatic elements in the revised model (Figure 5).

Second, objectives are utilized at Cassody School to design activities to meet short-range goals within a specified period of time. It is recommended this use of objectives be adopted by the Home-School-Community Relations Project, and that a timeline be added to the program planning process. This change is also indicated in the revised model (Figure 5).

Process Elements

This research study illustrated a non-programmatic use of analysis as a home-school-community relations process which was identified only with the home-school-community relations role of the principal. Theoretically, analysis is a process utilized by all members of the school staff to identify issues and subpublics. Because this process appears to be different from those processes operationalized in a programmatic manner at Cassody School, it has been assigned a new position in the revised model (Figure 5) with arrows indicating its function as an integral part of programmatic planning, and as a process designed to facilitate the effective use of the remaining processes.

Communication, involvement, and participation were identified as processes at Cassody School facilitated by the use of specific activities, some programmatic and others non-programmatic, to attain both short-range and long-range goals of the home-school-community relations program. They are retained in their original order in the revised model.

Resolution was identified in this study as both a process and an outcome of other processes at Cassody School. It is believed resolution as a process is closely related to the political leadership style of the principal and the school community, thus making it non-programmatic in nature. Therefore, it is recommended resolution be identified as an outcome of effective home-school-community relations as shown in the revised model (Figure 5).

Goal Elements

As a consequence of adding short-range goals to the program elements in the revised model, present long-range goal elements are identified as outcomes in the revised model (Figure 5). In addition, the present long-range goals of achievement and child growth and development have been given a new position in the revised model and changed to read, "Achievement of Educational Goals." While it is believed by the researcher that this outcome is related to effective home-school-community relations, focused research is needed to clarify its relationship to processes and other identified outcomes.

Implications and Recommendations for Future Research

This research was designed as an exploratory study to identify and describe supports and constraints to home-school-community relations in an urban, inner-city school. Future research is needed to verify the findings of this study in more than one inner-city school with the same and differing racial and community characteristics.

It is speculated there are other subtle organizational constraints to parent involvement and participation than those identified in this study. Further research utilizing anthropological methods is recommended to study the attitudes of inner-city parents and their reasons for consistently staying away from schools.

A thorough study is needed of the relationship between employment of parents and other neighborhood citizens at a local school, and the effectiveness of their participation in decision making at the school. Special emphasis should be put on the roles of paid aides. However, the employment of local citizens in other classified capacities should also be explored. Closely related is the issue of paying parents to participate in school activities as volunteers. Implications for possible cooptation should be explored.

Additional research is needed on the role of local school advisory councils as interest groups for the school. An unanswered question in this study revolves around the willingness of parents who were unhappy with the instructional program to act on behalf of the school with district authorities. What were their motivations and rewards?

No clear relationships emerged in this study between negative staff relations and the attainment of home-school-community relations goals. Further research on the subject is necessary.

Additional research utilizing the Programmatic Model for Home-School-Community Relations is necessary to answer questions such as the following: What is the relationship of outcomes to program and process elements in the model? What is the relationship of attainment of educational goals to effective home-school-community relations programs? What are the characteristics of analysis which separate it from other processes? Is resolution a viable outcome of the other processes?

Finally, implications of this study suggest a need for practical materials to be used at local schools in planning and implementing comprehensive home-school-community relations programs. Techniques for analyzing the school community with available resources of time, personnel, and money are critical. Materials written in the language of the practitioner which incorporate the use of home-school-community relations concepts in existing school activities are urgently needed to help local schools develop effective school-community relations programs.

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APPENDIX A

Glossary of Terms

IGE Components and Terms

IGE Components[1]

In addition to home-school-community relations, the system of

✓ IGE includes the following components:

- --The multiunit organizational-administrative arrangement
- --Instructional programming for the individual student
- --Evaluation for educational decision making
- --Curricular materials compatible with IGE
- --Facilitative environments for IGE
- --Continuing research and development required to improve IGE

Definitions of IGE Terms Used in Chapter 1[2]

Instruction and Research (I&R) Unit: An element of the multiunit school organization typically consisting of a unit leader, three to five staff teachers, an instructional secretary, a teacher aide, and 100-150 students; the I & R Unit replaces the age-graded, self-contained classroom organization for instruction. The staff of the unit is a hierarchically organized team with clearly defined job descriptions.

Instructional Improvement Committee (IIC): The organizational element of the multiunit school organization structure at the school level. It is composed of the principal, the unit leaders, and a parent representative. The IIC carries out many planning and evaluating functions regarding instruction previously performed by the principal or teachers independently.

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[1] For further discussion see James M. Lipham and Herbert J. Klausmeier, "Development and Description of IGE," in The Principal and Individually Guided Education, ed. James M. Lipham and Marvin J. Fruth (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1976), pp. 9-21.

[2] These definitions and others are included in "The Glossary," of The Principal and Individually Guided Education as cited above, pp. 328-336.

Instructional Programming Model (IPM): A seven-step model for planning, carrying out, and evaluating instructional programs for the individual students of a school. The model takes into account these conditions: that some but not all instructional objectives should be attained by all students during the elementary school; that some, but not all, objectives should be attained by students to a criterion of mastery, and that some, but not most, objectives are attained in a fixed and invariant sequence.

Multiunit School Organization: A three-level instructional organizational pattern consisting of the Instruction and Research unit; the Instructional Improvement Committee within the building; and the System-wide Program Committee within the school district.

Unit Leader: A certified teacher who in addition to teaching children from 51 to 80 percent of the time, is responsible for serving as the instructional leader of an I & R Unit, chairing meetings of the unit, and serving on the IIC of the school building; a main instructional responsibility is to lead the unit staff in planning, carrying out, and evaluating instructional programs for individual students.

APPENDIX B

Social Class Descriptions

Social Class Descriptions[1]

The Upper Class. At the most future-oriented end of the scale, the upper-class individual expects a long life, looks forward to the future of his children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren (the family "line"), and is concerned also for the future of such abstract entities as the community, nation, or mankind. He is confident that within rather wide limits he can, if he exerts himself to do so, shape the future to accord with his purposes. He therefore has strong incentives to "invest" in the improvement of the future situation--i.e., to sacrifice some present satisfaction in the expectation of enabling someone (himself, his children, mankind, etc.) to enjoy greater satisfactions at some future time. Future-oriented culture teaches the individual that he would be cheating himself if he allowed gratification of his impulses (for example, for sex or violence) to interfere with his provision for the future.

The upper-class individual is markedly self-respecting, self-confident, and self-sufficient. He places great value on independence, curiosity, creativity, happiness, "developing one's potentialities to the full," and consideration for others. In rearing his children, he stresses these values along with the idea that one should govern one's relations with others (and, in the final analysis, with one's self) by *internal* standards rather than by conformity to an externally given code ("not because you're told to but because you take the other person into consideration"). The upper-class parent is not alarmed if his children remain unemployed and unmarried to the age of thirty, especially if they remain in school. He does not mind being alone; indeed, he requires a good deal of privacy. He wants to express himself (he may carry self-expression to the point of eccentricity), and, in principle at least, he favors self-expression by others. He takes a tolerant, perhaps even an encouraging, view of unconventional behavior in sex, the arts, and politics. He is mindful of the rights of others and wants issues to be settled on their merits and by rational discussion. He deplores bigotry (which is not to say that he has no prejudices) and abhors violence in personal relations.

It will be seen that two features of this culture--the disposition to postpone present satisfaction for the sake of improving matters in the future and the desire to "express one's personality"--are somewhat antagonistic. Upper-class (that is, future-oriented) culture permits the individual to emphasize either theme. If he thinks that his means (money, knowledge, and the like) are almost certainly adequate to maintain him and his "line" throughout the future he envisions, the future-oriented individual has no incentive to "invest" (that is, trade present for future satisfaction) and may therefore emphasize self-expression. If, on the other hand, he thinks that his means may *not* be adequate (he will think this, of course, no matter how large his means if his plans for the future are grand enough), he is likely to emphasize self-discipline so that he may acquire the larger stock of means that he thinks he needs. Insofar as he chooses the expressive alternative, the upper-class individual's style of life may resemble the present-oriented one of the lower class. But whereas the lower-class individual is capable *only* of present-oriented behavior, the upper-class one can choose. He may, for example, do some things that require a high degree of skill, discipline, and judgment, living the rest of the time from moment to moment. Even if he lives from moment to moment all the time, he does so by choice--it is his "thing," his mode of self-expression. By contrast, the "true" present-orientedness of the lower class is both unrelieved and involuntary.

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[1] Edward C. Banfield, The Unheavenly City Revisited (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974), pp. 56-63. Reprinted with permission of the author and publisher.

The upper-class individual feels a strong attachment to entities (formal organizations, the neighborhood, the nation, the world) toward which he stands, or wants to stand, in a relation of fellowship. He sees the "community" (or "society") as having long-range goals and the ability to shape the future. He tends to feel that it is one's responsibility to "serve" the community by assisting in efforts for its improvement--perhaps because, his own goals being long-range ones, he has a stake in the future of the community. At any rate, he tends to be active in "public service" organizations and to feel a strong obligation (which he does not always act upon, of course) to contribute time, money, and effort to worthy causes. (In the South the upper-class attitude in these matters is different. As W. J. Cash remarked, the aristocratic ideal of the planter became corrupted by frontier individualism, which, "while willing enough to ameliorate the specific instance, relentlessly laid down as its basic social postulate the doctrine that every man was completely and wholly responsible for himself.)

The Middle Class. The middle-class individual expects to be still in his prime at sixty or thereabouts; he plans ahead for his children and perhaps his grandchildren, but, less future-oriented than the ideal typical member of the upper class, he is not likely to think in terms of "line" or to be much concerned about "mankind" in the distant future. He, too, is confident of his ability to influence the future, but he does not expect to influence so distant a future as does the upper-class individual, nor is he as confident about the probable success of his efforts to influence it. The middle-class individual's self-feelings are a little less strong than those of the upper-class individual; he is also somewhat less desirous of privacy. Although he shows a good deal of independence and creativity and a certain taste for self-expression, these traits rarely lead to eccentricity. He is less likely than the upper-class individual to have means that he considers adequate to assure a satisfactory level of goal attainment throughout his anticipated future. Therefore, "getting ahead"--and the self-improvement and sacrifice of impulse gratification that it requires--will be more likely to take precedence with him over "expression of one's personality." In the lower middle class, self-improvement is a principal theme of life, whereas in the upper middle class, self-expression is emphasized. Almost without exception, middle-class people want their children to go to college and to acquire the kind of formal training that will help them "get ahead." In matters of sex, the middle-class individual is (in principle, at least) "conventional," and in art and politics, too, he is more ready than the upper-class individual to accept the received opinion. He has regard for the rights of others; he deplores bigotry and abhors violence. He does not, however, hold these attitudes as strongly as do members of the upper class.

The middle-class individual does not feel as strong a sense of responsibility to the community as does the upper-class one, and he defines the community somewhat less inclusively. He wants (in principle, at least) to "belong" to a community and to be of "service" to it, and accordingly he joins organizations, including "service" ones. (In the lower middle class, the taste for public service and reform is relatively weak: the individual usually votes against public improvements that will not benefit him directly.) The middle-class individual, however, is less willing than the upper-class one to give time, money, and effort for public causes.

The Working Class. The working-class individual does not "invest" as heavily in the future, nor in so distant a future, as does the middle-class one. He expects to be an "old man" by the time he is fifty, and his time horizon is fixed accordingly. Also, he has less confidence than the middle-class individual in his ability to shape the future and has a stronger sense of being at the mercy of fate, a "power structure," and other uncontrollable forces. For this reason, perhaps, he attaches more importance to luck than does the middle-class individual. He is self-respecting and self-confident, but these feelings are less marked in him than in the middle-class individual and they extend to a somewhat narrower range of matters. As compared to the middle-class individual, he is little disposed toward either self-improvement or self-expression; "getting ahead" and "enlarging one's horizon" have relatively little attraction for him. In rearing his children, he emphasizes the virtues of neatness and cleanliness, honesty, obedience, and respect for external authority. (As David Riesman has observed, the problem in the working class is not, as in the upper middle class, to stimulate children; rather, it is to control them--"to teach them faith, respect, and obedience, rather than independence of mind and development of talents.") If his children do not go to college, the working-class individual does not mind much. In his relations with others, he is often authoritarian and intolerant, and sometimes aggressive. He is not only a bigot but a self-righteous one. Violence and brutality are less shocking to him than to middle-class persons; indeed, he regards them--up to a point--as normal expressions of a masculine style. To the working class, the middle class appears somewhat lacking in masculinity, and the upper class--a male member of which may even weep under stress--appears decidedly feminine or "queer."

The working-class individual's deepest attachment is to his family (most of his visiting is with relatives, not friends). However, his relationship to his wife and children is not as stable or as close--for instance, does not involve as much companionship--as the relationships tend to be in the middle class. Privacy is of less importance to him; he likes to have people around, and the noises and smells that they make seldom bother him (when he goes on vacation it is not to the country, which he finds too quiet and lonely, but to crowded resorts). The sense of sharing a purpose with others is not as important to him as it is to members of the upper classes, and when he joins an organization it is more likely to be for companionship and "fun" than for "service" or civic improvement. He may vote, especially if someone asks him to as a favor. His opinions on public matters are highly conventional (it does not seem to occur to him that he is entitled to form opinions of his own), and his participation in politics is motivated not by political principles but by ethnic and party loyalties, the appeal of personalities, or the hope of favors from the precinct captain.

The Lower Class. At the present-oriented end of the scale, the lower-class individual lives from moment to moment. If he has any awareness of a future, it is of something fixed, fated, beyond his control; things happen *to* him, he does not *make* them happen. Impulse governs his behavior, either because he cannot discipline himself to sacrifice a present for a future satisfaction or because he has no sense of the future. He is therefore radically improvident; whatever he cannot use immediately he considers valueless. His bodily needs (especially for sex) and his taste for "action" take precedence over everything else--and certainly over any work routine. He works only as he must to stay alive, and drifts from one unskilled job to another, taking no interest in his work. As compared to the working-class individual, he "doesn't want much success, knows he couldn't get it even if he wanted to, and doesn't want what might help him get success." Although his income is usually much lower than that of the working-class individual, the market value of his car, television, and household appliances and playthings is likely to be considerably more. He is careless with his things, however, and, even when nearly new, they are likely to be permanently out of order for lack of minor repairs. His body, too, is a thing "to be worked out but not repaired"; he seeks medical treatment only when practically forced to do so: "symptoms that do not incapacitate are often ignored."

The lower-class individual has a feeble, attenuated sense of self; he suffers from feelings of self-contempt and inadequacy, and is often apathetic or dejected. (In her discussion of "very low-lower class" families, Eleanor Pavenstadt notes that "the saddest, and to us the outstanding characteristic of this group, with adults and children alike, was the self-devaluation.") In his relations with others he is suspicious and hostile, aggressive yet dependent. He is unable to maintain a stable relationship with a mate; commonly he does not marry. ("The evidence is unambiguous and powerful," writes Marc Fried, "that the lowest social classes have the highest rates of severe psychiatric disorder. . . .") He feels no attachment to community, neighbors, or friends (he has companions, not friends), resents all authority (for example, that of policemen, social workers, teachers, landlords, employers), and is apt to think that he has been "railroaded" and to want to "get even." He is a nonparticipant: he belongs to no voluntary organizations, has no political interests, and does not vote unless paid to do so.

The lower-class household is usually female-based. The woman who heads it is likely to have a succession of mates who contribute intermittently to its support but take little or no part in rearing the children. In managing the children, the mother (or aunt, or grandmother) is characteristically impulsive: once children have passed babyhood they are likely to be neglected or abused, and at best they never know what to expect next. A boy raised in such a household is likely at an early age to join a corner gang of other such boys and to learn from the gang the "tough" style of the lower-class man.

The stress on "masculinity," "action," risk-taking, conquest, fighting, and "smartness" makes lower-class life extraordinarily violent. However, much of the violence is probably more an expression of mental illness than of class culture. The incidence of serious mental illness is greater in the lower class than in any of the others. Moreover, the nature of lower-class culture is such that much behavior that in another class would be considered bizarre seems routine.

In its emphasis on "action" and its utter instability, lower-class culture seems to be more attractive to men than to women. Gans writes:

> The women tries to develop a stable routine in the midst of poverty and deprivation; the action-seeking man upsets it. In order to have any male relationships, however, the woman must participate to some extent in his episodic life style. On rare occasions, she may even pursue it herself. Even then, however, she will try to encourage her children to seek a routine way of life. Thus the woman is much closer to working class culture, at least in her aspirations, although she is not often successful in achieving them.

In the chapters that follow, the term *normal* will be used to refer to class culture that is not lower class. The implication that lower-class culture is pathological seems fully warranted both because of the relatively high incidence of mental illness in the lower class and also because human nature seems loath to accept a style of life that is so radically present-oriented. This is not the main reason for using the word *normal*, however, Rather, it is that *some* word is needed to designate the sector of the class-cultural continuum that is not lower class, and no other word seems preferable on the whole.

Note

For bibliographies of descriptive accounts of the various classes see Jack L. Roach, Llewellyn Gross, and Orville Gurslin, *Social Stratification in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), Ch. 4. For the lower class, see in addition an elaborate review article by Zahava D. Blum and Peter H. Rossi which appears as an appendix in Daniel P. Moynihan, ed., *On Understanding Poverty*. The works that were drawn upon most heavily in constructing the summaries in the text include Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers*, ch. 11; Walter B. Miller, "Implications of Urban Lower-Class Culture for Social Work," *Social Service Review*, 33 (September 1959), pp. 219-236 and "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," *Journal of Social Issues*, 14 (1968), pp. 5-19; A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth;* Allison Davis, "The Motivation of the Underprivileged Worker," in William Foote Whyte, ed., *Industry and Society* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1946); William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955); Mirra Komarovsky, *Blue-Collar Marriage* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967); A. B. Shostak and William Gomberg, *Blue-Collar World: Studies of the American Worker* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965); Albert K. Cohen and Harold M. Hodges, Jr., "Characteristics of the Lower-Blue-Collar Class," *Social Problems*, 10 (Spring 1963), pp. 305-334; Lee Rainwater, *Behind Ghetto Walls* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970); S. M. Miller and Frank Riessman, "The Working Class Subculture: A New View," *Social Problems*, 9 (Summer 1961);86-97, and Peter Binzen, *Whitetown U. S. A.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970). See also Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1955), and Herman H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds. *Class, Status and Power*, 2nd ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1966).

APPENDIX C

AFT Policy on Volunteers

American Federation of Teachers AFL-CIO

ALBERT SHANKER
President

11 Dupont Circle, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036
(202) 797-4400

August 24, 1976

Ms. Lois Bartels
Wisconsin Research and Development Center
1025 West Johnson Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Ms. Bartels:

In response to your request, I am citing below the policy statement adopted by the American Federation of Teachers on "Volunteers in the School:"

> "WHEREAS, thousands of teachers are unemployed nationally, with the figures increasing yearly, and
> "WHEREAS, school volunteers are in reality unpaid workers, and therefore serve as unfair competition, and
> "WHEREAS, many school volunteers are unqualified for the positions in which they serve, and
> "WHEREAS, school boards and administrations are promoting policies which raise the unemployment rate for teachers and aides by removing paid positions from the school system, therefore be it
> "RESOLVED, that the AFT actively work to discourage policies and practices promoting the use of volunteers in formerly or potentially paid positions in schools."

Sincerely yours,

Marilyn Rauth

Marilyn Rauth
Assistant Director
Educational Research Department

MR:rcm
opeiu#2
aflcio

APPENDIX D

District Approval for Research Study

(Letterhead)

September 17, 1977

Lois Bartels
2937 Fish Hatchery Road, Apt. 108
Madison, Wisconsin 53713

Dear Ms. Bartels:

The Committee on Research Studies has approved your request to conduct a study with the descriptive title "Supports and Constraints to Home-School-Community Relations in Urban IGE Schools" in our school district. Your study has been restricted to one elementary school.

This approval by the Committee on Research Studies is in no way a requirement for District personnel to participate. All participation by principals, staff, and pupils must be completely voluntary. The anonymity of all participants and schools must be maintained.

You may use this letter as an authorization to approach principals who may wish to participate in your study. At the conclusion of the study, please send an abstract of the findings to the Committee.

Sincerely,

Chairman,
Committee on Research Studies

APPROVED: Deputy Superintendent

cc: (Regional) Superintendent

APPENDIX E

Letter to Region 1 Superintendent

the
Wisconsin
Research and Development Center
for Cognitive
Learning

the University of Wisconsin · 1025 West Johnson Street · Madison, Wisconsin 53706 · (608) 263-4200

August 9, 1976

Superintendent
Region 1
Silver Lake School District
Silver Lake, (State)

Dear Sir:

The Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning is engaged in a variety of research activities related to Individually Guided Education (IGE). One of the components of IGE is home-school-community relations. Recently completed and current research on this topic includes the development and verification of an instrument to assess home-school-community relations programs, a study of the politics of school/community relations in a Puerto Rican community, the development and refinement of a model for a home-school-community relations program, and the development of alternative models for citizen involvement in educational decision making.

Currently, a need exists for research which will explore the supports and constraints to home-school-community relations in urban school settings. To this end, one of our researchers, Lois Bartels, will do a case study of an urban IGE school to meet the following objectives:

1. To identify and describe the primary interaction patterns between the urban IGE school and its communities as perceived by parents, other citizens, and urban IGE school personnel, in terms of the home-school-community relations operating functions of analysis, communication, involvement and resolution.
2. To identify and describe factors, as perceived by parents, other citizens, and urban IGE school personnel, which act as supports and constraints in IGE schools for the home-school-community relations operating functions of analysis, communication, involvement and resolution.

To meet these objectives, it is necessary to identify an IGE school in an urban setting which meets the following criteria:

1. The staff of the school must show a willingness to become involved in an in-depth study of the school's home-school-community relations activities.
2. The school must use the Instructional Programing Model in at least one curricular area.
3. The school must have an Instructional Improvement Committee which meets weekly.
4. The school must utilise a school-wide multiunit organisational plan.
5. Children must be grouped into multi-age units for at least one curricular area.

The Silver Lake School District has been a leader in the implementation of IGE in the urban setting. Recognising that there are several schools in the district which meet the above IGE criteria, we are seeking your support in contacting four or five principals who are interested in cooperating in the proposed study. When this information is made available to us, Ms. Bartels will arrange to meet with interested principals and ther IICs before a final decision is made to proceed with an in-depth study in one school. It is hoped that this phase of the research process can be completed by late August or early September.

Research is an integral part of a self-renewing system. The school staff which participates in this study will receive a detailed report of the current state of home-school-community relations in their school community. In addition, they will be contributing to a body of knowledge about home-school-community relations which will help other schools in a similar setting. I will appreciate your cooperation in facilitating this endeavor and I look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Sincerely,

Marvin J. Fruth

Marvin J. Fruth
Professor of Educational Administration

MJF/ajf

CC: Associate Superintendent, Silver Lake School District
B. Dean Bowles
Lois Bartels

APPENDIX F

Official Research Request

REQUEST FOR APPROVAL OF RESEARCH STUDY

DATE 9/2/76

NAME: DR. MR. [✓ MS.] MRS. MISS Lois I. Bartels

ADDRESS: 2937 Fish Hatchery Road, Apt. 108

CITY Madison, Wisconsin ZIP 53713

HOME PHONE 608-271-2428 BUSINESS PHONE 608-263-3367

CURRENT POSITION Full-time student and Project Assistant

AGENCY OR INSTITUTION Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, University of Wisconsin-Madison

---

DESCRIPTIVE TITLE OF PROJECT

Supports and Constraints to Home-School-Community Relations in Urban IGE Schools

SCHOOL LEVEL OR GRADE WITH WHICH STUDY IS CONCERNED K-6

SCHOOLS INVOLVED one

NUMBER OF PERSONS INVOLVED: TEACHERS all PUPILS 30 OTHERS 30

ESTIMATED TIME REQUIRED OF EACH: TEACHER 1.5hrs. PUPIL .5hrs. OTHER 1.5hrs.

October 1, 1976
(EXPECTED STARTING DATE)

November 15, 1976
(EXPECTED COMPLETION DATE)

(TO BE COMPLETED BY ADVANCED DEGREE CANDIDATES)

INSTITUTION University of Wisconsin-Madison

DEGREE SOUGHT Ph.D. in Educational Administration

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: I HAVE REVIEWED THIS PROPOSED RESEARCH STUDY AND CONSIDER THE PROJECT TO BE EDUCATIONALLY DESIRABLE AND THE RESEARCH DESIGN TO BE SATISFACTORY.

ADVISER'S SIGNATURE

Professor
TITLE

608-263-2737
PHONE

9/2/76
DATE

PLEASE PROVIDE THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN SENTENCE FORM, USING CLEAR, SPECIFIC TERMS.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

See attached sheet

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The purpose of the proposed research is to explain the current status of home-school-community relations in an urban IGE school and to explore those factors which are perceived by parents, other citizens, and IGE school personnel to support or constrain the school's home-school-community relations activities.

TESTABLE HYPOTHESES

This is an exploratory study designed, among other purposes, to lay the groundwork for later testing of hypotheses.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Data will be collected through the use of field methodology techniques which include formal and informal interviews, observation, and examination of documents.

MEASURING INSTRUMENTS (INCLUDE TESTS, IF NOT A WELL-KNOWN STANDARDIZED TEST, QUESTIONNAIRES, INTERVIEWS, ETC.)

An interview schedule is attached to the formal proposal.

PRIOR TO APPROVAL BY THE COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH STUDIES, THE COMMITTEE MUST RECEIVE A COPY OF YOUR FORMAL RESEARCH PROPOSAL. IT MAY ACCOMPANY THIS REQUEST OR BE PROVIDED SHORTLY AFTER THE REQUEST IS FILED. THIS RESEARCH PROPOSAL MUST CONTAIN A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE, A LIST OF ANY HYPOTHESES TO BE TESTED, A DEFINITION OF ANY SPECIAL TERMS TO BE USED, AND THE INTENDED ANALYSIS OF RESULTS.

- -

I UNDERSTAND THAT ALL DATA FOR INDIVIDUALS AND FOR SCHOOLS ARE CONFIDENTIAL. SUCH INDIVIDUALS AND OR SCHOOLS ARE TO REMAIN ANONYMOUS TO THE READER OF ANY REPORT WRITTEN AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THIS STUDY.

I ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT A COPY OF THE RESEARCH REPORT IS TO BE PRESENTED TO THE COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH STUDIES AND WILL REMAIN IN A PERMANENT FILE.

APPLICANT'S SIGNATURE

9/2/76
DATE

APPENDIX G

Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol

1. Name of Respondent

   Address
   Position   Phone Number

2. Introduction of Interviewer
   - Who I am
   - Objectives of the interview
   - How school selected
   - Confidentiality

3. Biographical Data on the Respondent

   Parents
   - Personal Data
     - How long in community?
     - How long in school?
     - Educational background?
   - Family Data
     - How many children?
     - What schools?
     - Names, grades, ages?
     - What have experiences been?
   - Describe relationships between you and this school. Feelings about the school.

   Professionals
   - Personal Data
     - History as a teacher or administrator
       - Generally
       - In the district
       - At this school
     - Live within school community attendance area?
     - Member of union?
   - Describe your relationship with parents in this community
   - How do you feel about teaching at this school?

4. Primary Interaction Patterns--HSCR Functions
   - What things are being done in terms of analysis, communication, and involvement?
   - Who does them?
   - What things should be done?

5. Supports-Constraints
   - What conditions make it possible to do the things being done (above)?
   - What keeps other things from being done?

6. Legitimacy, Access, Trust
   - Is school's right to make decisions ever questioned? By whom? In what ways?
   - How easy (or difficult) is it for parents to participate in school activities, i.e., to get into the system?
   - What evidence is there of mutual trust between school and community?

7. Checklist (Activities)
   - PAB/PAC
   - Newsletter
   - Parent questionnaires/surveys
   - Use of community resource people
   - Positive cards, calls, notes
   - Parent-teacher conferences
   - Report cards
   - Volunteers
   - Special Programs
   - Aides

8. Checklist (Constraints or Supports)
   - Neighborhood
   - Crime
   - Race/Ethnicity
   - Formal language
   - Transiency
   - Poverty
   - Bureaucracy
   - MUS
   - Time
   - Experience
   - Unions
   - Employment patterns
   - Value conflicts
   - Personalities
   - Integration

9. Checklist (Resolution)
   - Rational
   - Persuasion
   - Bargaining
   - Power play

APPENDIX H

Letter of Introduction to Respondents

(Letterhead)

December 10, 1976

Mrs. Natalie Evanshome
2632 Roan Avenue
Silver Lake, (State)

Dear Mrs. Evanshome:

The Wisconsin Research and Development Center has received permission from the Silver Lake School District to conduct a study to learn about school-community relations at Cassody School. As part of the study, Ms. Lois Bartels will be interviewing some parents and other citizens in the Cassody School attendance area to learn their opinions about school-community relations.

You are one of the people who has been selected to be interviewed. We hope that you will take the time to talk with Ms. Bartels. She will be contacting you soon by telephone to make an appointment for a time and place of your convenience.

Ms. Bartels will be making a report of the study to the Silver Lake School District and to the staff and Parent Advisory Council of Cassody School. A written report will be available to you from the school. The names of persons who are interviewed will not be used.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Principal
Cassody School

B. Dean Bowles

B. Dean Bowles
Principal Investigator
Wisconsin Research and
Development Center

APPENDIX I

Thank-you Letter

the
Wisconsin
Research and Development Center
for Cognitive
Learning

the University of Wisconsin · 1025 West Johnson Street · Madison, Wisconsin 53706 · (608) 263-4200

Cassody School
1001 Cassody Court
Silver Lake, (State)
December 21, 1976

Mrs. Natalie Evanshome
2632 East Roan Avenue
Silver Lake, (State)

Dear Mrs. Evanshome:

Thank you for talking with me about your experiences at Cassody School. Your description of what you do as a volunteer was very helpful to my study.

I hope that you and your family have a very Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Sincerely,

Lois I. Bartels
Research Assistant

APPENDIX J

Interview Summary

Interview Summary

Name: Mrs. Dawn Disciple

Address: 3572 1/2 Rippley Avenue

Date: January 11, 1977 Time: 3:00-4:00 p.m.

Children:	Name	Age/Grade	School
	Freddy F. Disciple	15	Ripon High on disciplinary transfer
	Amana G. Disciple	13	Dallas School for Expectant Mothers
	Gregory P. Disciple	6th	Cassody School
	Elizabeth D. Disciple	4th	Cassody School
	Davis J. Disciple	4th	Cassody School

When I called Mrs. Disciple to make an appointment for an interview, she said that she had not received a letter of introduction, but she was happy to have an interview. I found while talking to her on the phone that the school did not have her correct address because she is no longer living in the Cassody School attendance area. The Disciple residence is fifteen blocks north of the school. Most of the time the children walked to and from school even though getting there requires crossing Jefferson Street, which is a major thoroughfare, and passing several places where men gather to drink, smoke and talk. Rush Junior High School is on this street and there are usually numerous teenagers spilling onto the street.

When I arrived at the Rippley Avenue address several children were playing in the yard of the front house. When I got out of my car I asked the children if I was at the right place. They were all friendly and gathered around me as we walked to the back house. Along the way I asked the oldest looking girl her name and where she attended school. She said that her name was Amana and that she attended Dallas School. At the same time she patted her stomach. I didn't understand what she said so I inquired again. She repeated, "Dallas," and added, "I'm expecting." She was thirteen years old. The children took me into a house at the end of the driveway. Two other children were inside eating sandwiches. The television set was on and Mrs. Disciple was moving around picking various belongings off the floor and furniture.

The house was small with the living room and kitchen forming an L-shaped living area. The bathroom opened onto the living room and two bedrooms were in the rear. The furniture in the living room consisted of a plastic sofa on which the interviewer was seated, a blue velvateen love seat, a well-worn platform rocker, an end table with lamp, a coffee table filled with papers, a television set and a phonograph. A chrome dinette set was pushed next to the kitchen cupboard. It didn't look used because of its position and the kinds and number of things piled on it. The cupboard top was filled with food and other things. The refrigerator was old and rusty looking. The burners of the stove had large iron skillets on them. The bed in the room I could see was unmade and clothes were lying on the bathroom floor. Mrs. Disciple said she sleeps on the love seat, Amana and Elizabeth share a bed, Gregory and Davis share a bed, and Freddy has a cot in the boys' room.

Mrs. Disciple is a pretty black lady who looked to be hardly more than 30 years old. She had a pink scarf tied around her head turban style, long false eyelashes, a tee shirt top with a bare midriff and no bra, a long grey skirt, and no shoes. She greeted me with a friendly smile as she moved around the room.

The television set stayed on the entire time I was there and for a while all of the children watched cartoons. In addition to the Disciple children there was another child, about two years old, whom Mrs. Disciple was caring for while her mother attended high school. At one point three of the children were eating what appeared to be cheese sandwiches. Mrs. Disciple never raised her voice to the children and they moved in and out quietly. I was not aware of their presence even in the small space. I only knew the television set was going all the while that I was there.

Conversations about Cassody School and Mrs. Disciple's relationship to it were woven into the much more complex story of her life since she arrived in Silver Lake. She cried often during the latter part of the interview.

Mrs. Disciple and her children have been in Silver Lake since 1973. Before that time she lived in a state in the South. She said her mother had been an invalid for three years and she had cared for her. When her mother passed, Mrs. Disciple couldn't get herself together so she decided to move to Silver Lake to be closer to her father. The move apparently was not a solution to her problems because she has only seen her father twice since she got here.

Shortly after the family moved to Silver Lake in September of 1973, Mrs. Disciple had an accident which has continued to affect her health. She was living at Maine and Cisoic Avenues in a downstairs apartment. The pipes from upstairs were leaking and the water was coming through the ceiling around the light. She taped the light switch so it wouldn't be used and had a small pan sitting on the floor to catch the water as it dripped through the ceiling. She got up in the middle of a night intending to turn on the stove light. As she reached for the light she tipped the pan of water spilling it on the floor. She slipped on the wet surface, thus falling and hitting her head. This caused a mild brain concussion which affected the muscles on her right side and caused them to collapse. There was some damage to her spine and she was left with continual headaches. The pain of the headaches causes her blood pressure to shoot up (190/100) and this restricts her activity. She was supposed to have gone to work at St. Mary's Hospital in Riverton that September 20. Instead, she was hospitalized. She put her children with friends.

In February, 1976, during heaving rainstorms, the house the Disciple family was living in fell from its foundation. Mrs. Disciple explained:

> I just got off from work at 5:30. We were living right across the street from the convalescent home where I worked. I had just come in and was in the bathroom washing out my uniform. I felt some movement and I went out and asked the children did they feel it. We thought it was an earthquake. I tried to open the front door and it was blocked shut by the concrete porch. We went out the back door and saw that the house was sliding off the foundation. We had to get out that night.

Mrs. Disciple put the children with friends again and went back to the house. She wasn't going to leave but Freddy said he wouldn't go unless she did. She left and the house finally collapsed toward morning. They couldn't get their furniture out. The rent was paid until the end of the month so Mrs. Disciple tried to get fifty dollars back. Her landlord said there was nothing he could do. She later found that a car had run into the house before she moved there and "it was a real hazard to be living there."

The next place the Disciples found in which to live was on Cassody Court near Cassody School. The children have attended Cassody School since February 9, 1976. On October 5, 1976 Mrs. Disciple came home and found her house on fire. The only thing she and her children salvaged were the clothes on their backs. From October 9 until November 1 they lived with various friends. She tried to get an apartment in one of the Projects but they didn't have any three bedrooms available. Because of the ages of the children she was unable to rent a two bedroom so she rented this house instead. The furniture in the house was all purchased second-hand or was given to her. She said after the fire the school nurse, Mrs. Gensick, came and visited her. Mr. Fennel, the PSA (Pupil Services and Attendance Counselor) worker, came with a certificate for sixty dollars so the children could get more clothes. She said Mr. Smith (one of the coordinators) had been to the house but she couldn't remember why.

Now Mrs. Disciple is looking for another place to live and wants to find something before the rent comes due here on February 1. She says she cannot afford to pay the $125 this house costs each month and if she pays this rent for another month she won't have money to hold another house. She said she gets $283 from the County every two weeks less $17 per check for certain deductions. Out of each check she must spend $80 for $118 worth of food stamps. In addition she had the $125 rent, about $20 for gas and $15 for lights. She said she didn't know what happened this last month but her phone bill was $20. She said she complained about the long distance charges because she doesn't know anyone in the cities to which the calls were made but she had to pay the bill anyhow.

Davis was wearing glasses which were partially broken. As Mrs. Disciple was relating the difficulty of living in this house with so little money, she said she needs to get glasses for Freddy, Gregory, and Amana too. They all had relatively new glasses which were paid for by Medicare, but they were lost in the fire. Medicare won't pay for more glasses now because not enough time has lapsed.

Mrs. Disciple said Davis sometimes gets into fights at school and not having glasses may be part of his problem. She said he started wearing glasses after he was hit in the eye by a ball at school. First he lost the sight in the eye and he wore a patch over it. Then he got glasses. The problem he has now is he has pains in the left side of his chest. She said he was very ill before Christmas. He hasn't been to school since it started after the holidays (January 3) because the medication he is taking for the pains nauseates him.

In December, Mrs. Disciple had surgery on her feet. She said she had a routine x-ray of her feet taken when she took her children to the foot doctor. She did not go back to check on it. When she finally went back to the clinic she was told they had been trying to locate her (she had moved) because there was a bone on the side of each foot pressing on a nerve. Given much more time they were afraid her legs would go completely numb and be useless. She tried to put off the surgery because she was working at Cassody School as a volunteer helping Mrs. Overman with the drill team so it could be ready to march in the Traceway parade. She didn't want to miss the parade which was on December 12. The doctor said she had to go into the hospital immediately so she again put her children with friends and had the surgery.

Until this time, Mrs. Disciple was active at Cassody School. Besides helping Mrs. Overman, she has been to school this year to observe her children in their classrooms. She has also attended School Advisory Council meetings. She recalled one of the Advisory Council activities was to form a Block Parents Club early in 1976. She said they discussed the problem of children leaving school and not coming straight home. There were also problems with little children being bothered by bigger ones. She thought Block Parents was a very worthwhile activity.

Before attending Cassody School the Disciple children attended, perhaps not in this order, Lincoln, Washington, and Georgia Avenue elementary schools. Mrs. Disciple said she started getting involved in school activities when her children started attending Headstart classes. At Lincoln she was a Block Parent. At Georgia Avenue she organized the drill team to march in the Traceway parade. They had never had a drill team before.

Mrs. Discipline has very positive feelings about Cassody School. She said she seems to be able to talk to the principal and the teachers a little better at this school than at the other schools. "They're more for real. It's not all put on. They really care. They show this in the way that they teach and try to solve problems." An example of the way they care is when Gregory was having trouble in his regular class because he wasn't getting enough attention, he was placed in Miss Delaney's guidance class (an adjustment class for children having educational and social problems). She said, "I think this was a beautiful idea so that he can keep from being distracted." She also said, "I think that the school is organized beautifully. The teachers and the staff are wonderful to work with."

When asked how she got news of what was happening at Cassody School she said now that she can no longer walk as much and get around as well most of the news comes by letters and telephone calls. Before she got most of her information by going to school and talking to the teachers. She said when she met the children's teachers she told them they should get in touch with her any time and they seem to do that. "I told them that I want to know how my children are doing." She said she tries to show the teachers she supports them. For instance, Gregory had to write 500 standards one night because of his misbehavior. "I counted them to make sure he had exactly 500. Then I signed the paper so the teacher knew that I was aware of what he was doing." While we were talking, one of the children brought in a letter which Mrs. Disciple showed to me. It was an announcement for the School Advisory Committee meeting to be held Thursday. She said all three children usually come home with papers.

Mrs. Disciple said she really hasn't had any trouble with the school. Davis is the only child who usually gets into fights at school. She has gone to school to talk to the principal about that. She was called by Elizabeth's teacher about a fight she had. She said, "The other night Davis came home and said that a boy hit him after school. But he tries not to tell me. He doesn't want me to worry." This idea of the children keeping information from their mother came through several times during the interview. Mrs. Disciple said she has told her children she is always there to talk with but they know she worries and that makes her blood pressure go up so they don't tell her.

As I rose to leave, Mrs. Disciple was putting on her shoes and saying she had to take Amana down to the clinic to get her iron capsules while she still had the car. In front of the house there was an old dented-up Mustang which she said she had borrowed from a friend.

I was emotionally drained when I left the house.

APPENDIX K

Letter of Introduction to Staff

Cassody School

TO: Staff

FROM: Principal

RE: Research Specialist In Our School

Research is the foundation for evaluating present conditions for effectiveness of methods, strategies, involvement, and operations in the education process.

The Silver Lake School District, Department of Evaluation and Research, is often exploited by other agencies and institutions to support the collection of data necessary to make decisions for State and Federal Grants.

The National Institute of Education is interested in Research within the larger Urban Cities in relationship to education processes within the schools.

Dr. Bowles and Ms. Lois Bartels from the University of Wisconsin are collecting data in Silver Lake IGE schools related to the effect of parent involvement and staff decision-making on the achievement of students. The process for collecting information is through the interview and observation technique.

Therefore, Ms. Lois Bowles will work in our school for approximately a period of 6 weeks collecting data. Our program will continue as planned. We will provide time during the school day for the interviews. Our school was recommended by the Silver Lake School District and selected by the researchers from Wisconsin.

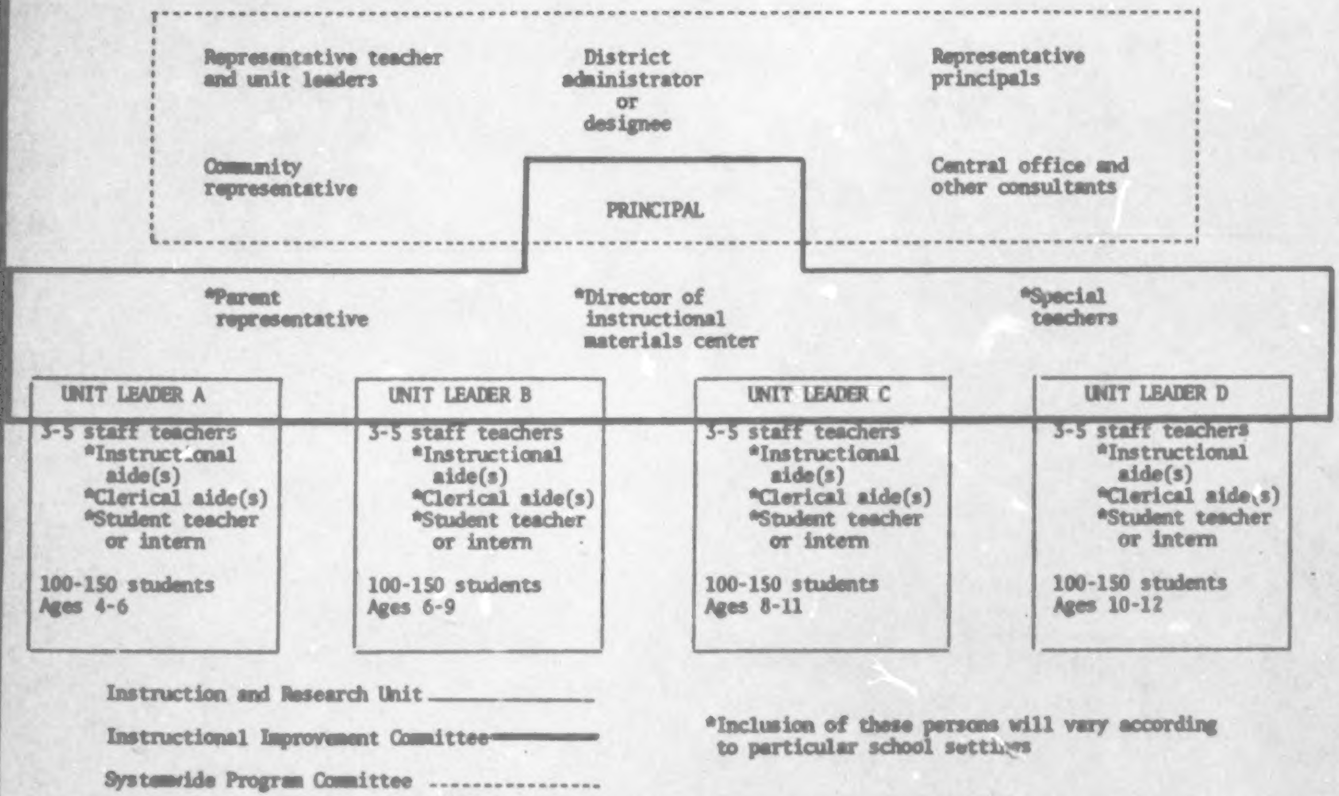
I do hope that we all will see the need for realistic research that will influence the legislature that Urban Education Is A First Priority and a great resource for Financial Support.

Your cooperation is highly appreciated.

____
Principal

APPENDIX L

IGE Multiunit Organization


Representative teacher and unit leaders
District administrator or designee
Representative principals
Community representative
Central office and other consultants
PRINCIPAL
*Parent representative
*Director of instructional materials center
*Special teachers
UNIT LEADER A
3-5 staff teachers
*Instructional aide(s)
*Clerical aide(s)
*Student teacher or intern
100-150 students
Ages 4-6
UNIT LEADER B
3-5 staff teachers
*Instructional aide(s)
*Clerical aide(s)
*Student teacher or intern
100-150 students
Ages 6-9
UNIT LEADER C
3-5 staff teachers
*Instructional aide(s)
*Clerical aide(s)
*Student teacher or intern
100-150 students
Ages 8-11
UNIT LEADER D
3-5 staff teachers
*Instructional aide(s)
*Clerical aide(s)
*Student teacher or intern
100-150 students
Ages 10-12
Instruction and Research Unit
Instructional Improvement Committee
Systemwide Program Committee

*Inclusion of these persons will vary according to particular school settings

MULTIUNIT ORGANIZATION OF AN IGE SCHOOL OF 400-600 STUDENTS

(Adapted from: Herbert J. Klausmeier, Richard G. Morrow, and James E. Walter, Individually Guided Education in the Multiunit School, (Madison: Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, 1968).

APPENDIX M

Club Activities

Club Activities

Room	Club
1	Writing
2	Arts and Crafts
8	Study Hall
10	Study Hall
11	Music Appreciation
12	Gifted
13	Chess
15	Photography
17	Crochet
18	Spanish
19	Charm
20	Reading
21	Safety
22	Oceanography
24	Spelling
25	Drama
26	Sewing
27	Study Hall
28	Advanced Drama
29	Art
30	Writing for Drama
34	Typing
36	Student Council
45	Health
46	Embroidery
Teachers Lounge	Cooking
Auditorium	Science
Library	Library

APPENDIX N

Parent Education Classes

PARENT EDUCATION CLASSES

WEDNESDAY 9:00 - 11:00 a.m.

Components	Date	Persons Responsible
I. LANGUAGE	10-13-76	Reading Specialist
a. Mechanics and Usage	10-20-76	Cancelled
b. Vocabulary	10-27-76	Reading Specialist
c. Composition	11-3-76	
II. READING (SUPPLEMENTARY PROGRAMS)	11-10-76	PEG Coordinator
	11-17-76	
	11-24-76	Title I Curriculum Coordinator
	12-1-76	
III. CONSUMER EDUCATION		
a. Budgeting	12-8-76	Principal et al
b. Marketing	12-15-76	
c. Food Preparation	2-2-76	
d. Social Services		
IV. HUMAN RELATIONS		
a. Interpersonal Relations	2-16-76	Curriculum Coordinator et al
b. Group Relations	2-23-76	
c. Staff Relations	2- 2-76	
V. HOW TO HELP THE CHILD AT HOME	3-16-76	Reading Specialist and Coordinators
Workshop	3-23-76	
	3-30-76	
	4-13-76	
VI. MATH		
a. Computation	4-20-76	Math Specialist et al
b. Problem Solving	4-27-76	
	5- 4-76	
	5-11-76	

APPENDIX O

Volunteer Recruitment Letter

Dear parent,

This little note comes to ask you to please help your Child learn in school by volunteering your time.

You would be involved in Classroom activities, tutoring on a one-to-one basis, story-telling and other worthwhile activities.

Please call the school or come by whenever you plan to volunteer. No special talents are required. Please sign at the bottom and return to school by your child.

Thank you,
(Teacher's Name)

signed ______________

APPENDIX P

Observation of Parent Advisory Council Meeting

OBSERVATION OF PARENT ADVISORY COUNCIL MEETING

Date: January 13, 1977

Time: 1:30-2:30

Place: The meeting was held in an unused classroom which was designated as a Parent Room. It is equipped with children's tables, and children's chairs. Tables were arranged in the shape of a U facing the chalkboard at the front of the room.

Agenda: The following agenda was written on the board.

Teacher Desegregation
Student Desegregation
Teacher Replacements
State Research and Evaluation Team Visit

Comments: I arrived at the meeting at approximately 1:30. As I came down the hall I could hear loud voices. If the meeting was called to order I missed it. There was no motion to adjourn at the end. One person was taking notes for the minutes. Most often the chairperson was involved in a discussion with one person. Voices were frequently loud, people stood to make their points and often many people were talking at once. The person next to me finally said, "This many people can sing in a choir, but they can't all talk together at once."

The following pages represent an effort to chart the interactions of the group by noting key points or comments made as they occurred. Speakers, with the exception of the chairperson who is noted as (CP) and the Title I coordinator noted as (K), are identified by numbers to insure their anonymity.

CP: She was talking about a minority report which was presented to the Board of Education when the District Advisory Board submitted its plan for desegregation. This was going on when I came in. I don't know how it was introduced.

1: She made the point that she wants equal opportunity for black children whether it is in the inner-city or at another school.

2: She stated that her children had attended another school in Silver Lake before they came to Cassody. "I am not pleased with this teacher desegregation." She said that her sister is going to a white high school, and having to work hard to get good grades. "If she wants to be a teacher and share the things that she has learned, she can't even teach in a black community in this system. We are losing all of our good black teachers."

CP: "Let me see if I can clear up the situation. OCR says that we must desegregate." She went on to explain that desegregation is mandatory because schools in the inner-city have not always been as good as those in other places. The reason given was that they didn't have enough money with which to work. "The desegregation order is to see that all children get a quality education."

2: "Why don't they just give us the money?"

CP: "In 13 years (since desegregation was ordered) the district hasn't given us any money. If you ever go into any of those schools on the other side of town you will see that those schools are better. They are cleaner, painted, newer. Now if they bring 200 kids here, the parents will come here too. They will see how the school looks and they won't stand for their children being in a school like this. If they would bring our schools up to date there would be no need to move children."

3: "But those white people stick together. Black people don't stick together like white people do."

4: (Standing) "Does everyone agree that education enlightens us? This problem doesn't only deal with the school. If there is a land that anybody wants to buy, he should be able to do it. If you can't buy in a certain area, you can't live in a certain area. Whether here or there, I want to give my son the same opportunity as any other child.

?: "We'll have to fight for it!"

5: "We fought when we tried to keep our teachers from going. We went down there in cars. What good did it do?"

CP: (Very high voice and using last name)" _________, _________, I want you to listen. Don't say that they are going to do just what they want to do. Did you know that only Cassody went down to the Board? Do you know. . . . (_________, shut up), Parents are important. We have just got to know how to use our power. Has teacher desegregation helped or hurt us?"

5: "It's the same mess as it was before. It is no different from before. There is no order."

2: "There is so much confusion here. I came from another school. I have never seen a school with so much confusion as this one. I was told that the only way I could do anything about it was to come to school. Why so much confusion?"

3: "I told you when school first started. If you don't come down here and see what is going on you can't change it."

4: Comment not discerbable.

CP: "I hear people at the Board meeting asking for what they want. All we have got to do is ask for what we want. We may not get it, but we can ask."

4: "Let's form a committee to go to the Board."

CP: "But don't say you don't want desegregation. It is going to happen. My question is what is going to happen two or three years later. When they go back to the way it is now."

K: "Is that the way it is?" (Repeated twice to be heard.)

CP: "It is optional to stay at the school. Children can go back to their home schools after two or three years. If they don't like it here they can go back to their own school."

K: "It is my understanding that another committee is working on curriculum."

4: "We're dealing with life. Within time anything can happen. . . ."

CP: "I think that we should have input, which is what I am asking for now. Our children should have an equal opportunity to learn. I don't like to think in terms of desegregation or bussin'. If our children are getting a good education they will be desegregated. I'm interested in equal opportunity."

Several: "Amen!"

CP: "The children should be the main concern."

Several: "Amen!"

4: "Let's form a committee."

2: "Is what you are telling us is that it is the money? That's why we can't get equal opportunity. There are more taxes paid elsewhere in the city and we don't pay as much taxes here so we get less. What we want is to have the funds spent equally."

CP: ". . . Integretion means doing this until the housing patterns change. OCR says we must move bodies.
We must think about teacher replacement. Out of the 10 new white teachers who came here at the beginning of the year, 3 are already gone." (silence).

5: "Who is doing the selecting of the teachers?"

CP: "It is not a matter of selection. We need 3 new teachers."

3: Comment not discernable.

CP: "My feeling is when is this going to stop?"

3: "We can't stop them from leaving can we? Can we avoid having white teachers?"

CP: "We can ask, 'When is this going to stop?' There is a continual turnover. We have to let them know. Are we going to continue for the next 3 years having white teacher turnovers?"

2: "I think we should go back to the old way and keep the black teachers."

5: "So the boys downtown are going to send us 3 new teachers. What can we do?"

CP: "We can go to OCR and tell them this is enough."

6: (stamping a bottle to be heard) "Madam President, may I ask you where you are on your agenda?"

CP: "Teacher desegregation."

6: I have to leave. Rush's Advisory Council always meets on Thursday at 2:00. I would suggest that if you want to get more parents here that you have this meeting at another time."

4: "See, that's what we're saying. Everything is confusion all over."

CP: She explained she had a conflict with another meeting. That is why the time was changed.
"Well, I'm goin to talk to someone. My baby has been shifted from pillar to post with substitutes. How can she learn?"

5: "We have to get together."

4: "I think it is a good idea to take all your children and go."

5: Comment not discernable.

CP: "If you go talk to [district superintendent], you just tell him what you want."

2: "We can tell him that we're tired of having so many different teachers. But we've got to know the reason why the teachers are not staying here."

7: "Ever since this program started we haven't accomplished anything. A child can be in one room and the teacher is firm. In another room the teacher lets him walk on the table. These kids are controlling and running this school. If they could go back to the program they has. . . ."

5: "And then they're blaming the child."

7: "You can't blame the teacher if the kids won't be quiet. Ever since the no swat law, the kids tell the teachers that they can't discipline them. We have talked and talked. Things are goin worse, they're not gettin' better. This system is not working out."

4: "My daughter brought my grandson over here last week in the rain. She said there were so many children in the halls. It was just confusion.

7: "When we were in school we started moving from room to room when we were 11 and 12 years old. Look at these babies going from room to room. I was scared when I was in Jr. High."

5: "But if parents don't like the program they can't change it."

CP: "Ain't nothin' wrong with the program."

5: (very loudly) "The program is what is causing all the problem."

K: "Maybe I could help out on that if the parents would come to the office and look at the achievement levels. We have come up from the 4th and 5th percentile to percentiles 48 and 50."

2: "That may be, but we are talking about classroom discipline."

(5, CP, K, try to talk. 5 wins.)

5: "I am in the classroom everyday. You can say that their test scores are better but these kids aren't learning. They can't read 'a' and 'the'."

4: "Maybe we had good test scores, but now it is going backwards."

CP: "It is going backwards because we don't have the teachers."

3: "The teachers can't make the children learn. (Standing now, waving arms, very emotional). It takes the parents. We need them here as volunteers and the children need home training."

7: "These children don't have common sense."

8: "It seem to me if children don't have home training, the teacher can't give it to 'em. I get it every day. If you discipline the child, he goes to his parents. Then the parents come running up here and uphold the child."

4: "What we're saying is that with this program where a child goes to 3 or 4 classes, it is just confusion. If the child would stay in the same classroom with the same teacher, then maybe there would be better discipline."

5: (very loudly) "It amazes me how they can send me into a classroom and the kids behave. They know that I won't stand for it. A child is not going to do more than you make him do."

4: "These children are not bad. They come into my store everyday. I have been able to stop fights. Maybe they were your children. If a child says one bad word in my store someone will say, 'You know you can't say that in here.' They are good children."

2: "This is where we started from in the beginning. The children are being exposed to too many different people."

CP: "You're getting things confused. Changing from one classroom to another is not the problem. The teachers are to blame. The teacher has to demand. Don't say that the program isn't doing what it is supposed to be doing. All this goes back to what ___________ said. The children must respect the school and they must go there to learn. The discipline must come from the home."

7: "You're saying that you feel there is nothing wrong with this program. The way I look at it, some of us went to a school that looked like a cotton house. Those people could spell and do math. A good 6 years ago before they started moving in the classrooms, when they stayed in one room from 8:30-2:30, the child knew the teacher. She gave him homework. Now they don't get any homework."

CP: "Have you asked the teacher for homework?"

7: "I got to go to 4 or 5 teachers. I have gone and demanded homework. I still say this new system ain't doin' nothing. Don't make any difference about Cassody School. It's the same at all of them. Those little kids are not ready for changing from one mama to another."

5: "These little kids move around and it takes so long that they only have 13-14 minutes for reading or writing. Every time they are recycled to another center it takes another 15 minutes to settle down. That leaves you about 4 minutes to teach."

Comments: By this time a few members have started to get up. 3 is trying to get those together who are going to the Board.

7: "A woman don't need no five husbands and a man don't need no five wives. Our kids don't need no five or six teachers."

Comments: The discussion goes on near the door. K joins a group and says he would say it all starts in the home. 5 tells what happened to her child at school, and how she had to tell her child to fight so that he didn't get beat up. CP says that it is how you tell your child to fight. Brushing against someone is different from hitting him. The discussion was still going when I left 15 minutes later.

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